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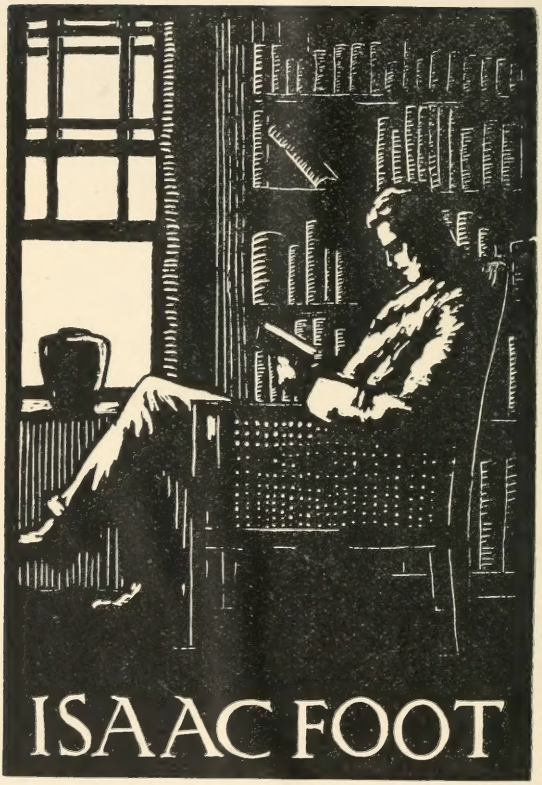

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TORIES

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TORIES

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TORIES

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE SECOND TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE THIRD (1660–1702)

BY

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TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND OF GRAY'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

'But what I choose rather to say here, is not that history is the school of public feeling, but that it is the school of statesmanship.'—SIR J. R. SEELEY: Cambridge Inaugural Lecture, 1869.

LONDON

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1908

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PREFACE

A NEW book dealing with any period of English history may well appear to be one of those superfluous things for which an apology is needed. A fresh presentation of events—and such a presentation I have endeavoured to give—may, however, be of some interest and value. Manifold and complex, indeed, are the elements of the great human epic ; and not the least interesting of them is the world-wide and everlasting conflict between the forces of permanence and progress, of stationariness and change. It is the history of the forces of permanence in a single country over a short but important period that in this volume I have attempted to describe. Nobody has, I think, as yet undertaken to narrate a complete history of Toryism, its doctrines and its practices, and such a volume as the present one will, therefore, I hope, supply a need. For the average reader the circle of ideas on English history has, over a long period, been fixed by the genius of Macaulay. It is, therefore, I venture to think, the more to be desired that some account of Tory doctrines, however absurd they may now to many appear to be, and of Tory practices, however indefensible, should receive distinct and separate treatment. Some historical knowledge in my readers I have, of course, assumed, and I have accordingly narrated only so much of well-known events as has been necessary to sustain my argument. My illustrations I have sought as much as possible from the less obvious sources. But oblivion casts her poppy, lineaments fade, and many traces

are lost beyond recall; and I am, therefore, only too conscious how much my enterprise falls short in its achievement.

Est enim benignum (ut arbitror) et plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris. Pliny's wise counsel has lost nothing of its force, and I gladly follow his example. I have, therefore, to express my thanks to Sir James A. H. Murray, who has, with great kindness, placed at my disposal some material collected for use in a forthcoming volume of the great Oxford Historical Dictionary. I am indebted to this source for an interesting reference to Dr. Joyce's work on the origin of names of Irish places. According to this authority the word 'Tory' is derived from 'toruidhe,' an Irish term meaning 'pursuer'; and it was applied to those Irish who were dispossessed of their lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and became free-booters. It would appear, if a statement of Defoe may be believed, that the word, in a political sense, was introduced into England by Titus Oates, the story being that certain Tories were brought over from Ireland to assassinate him and some of his associates. Oates, therefore, was in the habit of calling anyone who opposed him a Tory. This notorious plotter is one of those characters whom it is impossible to whitewash, and it would be strange indeed if so disreputable a person should be responsible for the introduction of one of the most famous party names in the history of politics.

Since writing these words I have seen a passage in Lord Acton's 'Lectures on Modern History' (Inaugural Lecture, p. 22), which confirms the view which I have outlined. The Professor there cites the history of the origin of the use of the word Tory, in the sense of a political party name, as a signal illustration of men's proclivity to forget what has once been known. It will, I think, be of some interest to my readers to recall the precise words of Defoe. I quote from the passage from Defoe's *Review* (vol. vii. p. 296) as given in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. L. p. 403.

'Their real godfather was Titus Oates, and the occasion of his giving them the name as follows—the author of this happened to be present. There was a meeting of some honest people in the city, upon the occasion of the discovery of some attempt to stifle the evidence of the witnesses (to the Popish plot) and tampering with Bedloe and Stephen Dugdale. Among the discourse, Mr. Bedloe said, he had letters from Ireland, and that there were some Tories to be brought over hither who were privately to murder Dr. Oates and the said Bedloe. The Doctor, whose zeal was very hot, could never after this hear any man talk against the plot, or against the witnesses, but he thought he was one of those Tories, and called almost every man a Tory that opposed him in discourse; till at the last the word Tory became popular, and it stuck so close to the party in all their bloody proceedings, that they had no way to get it off; so at last they owned it, just as they do now the name of High-flyer.'

It was part of my original design to bring this volume down to the end of the reign of Queen Anne—the natural conclusion, in my judgement of the period of the early Tories. But inexorable considerations of space have frustrated me. I venture to hope that I may be encouraged to proceed further, and that this volume may be treated as a first instalment only.

In conclusion I desire to thank very heartily my friend, Mr. Henry Cuningham, for his kindness in revising the proof-sheets with his accustomed care and balanced judgement.

C. B. Roylance Kent.

September, 1908.

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THE EARLY HISTORY

OF

THE TORIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The great object, in trying to understand history, political, religious, literary or scientific, is to get behind men and grasp ideas. . . . Party is not only, not so much, a group of men, as a set of ideas and ideal aims.

LORD ACTON.

'PARTY feeling,' writes Sir Henry Maine, 'is probably far more a survival of the primitive combativeness of mankind than a consequence of conscious intellectual differences between man and man. It is essentially the same sentiment which in certain states of society leads to civil intertribal or international war; it is as universal as humanity. . . . It is war without the city transmuted into war within the city, but mitigated in the process. Party disputes were originally the occupation of aristocracies which joined in them because they loved the sport for its own sake, and the rest of the community followed one side or the other as its clients.'[1] In this account of the origin of party there is doubtless an element of truth. For the concentration of a party's sympathetic feelings within its own circle is accompanied by a sentiment of repulsion towards those who are without it. Sympathy for a cause is often best aroused by creating an antipathy to its opposite—a truth which lay probably at the bottom of the Solonian law at Athens making it a penal

[1] Sir Henry Maine's *Popular Government*, pp. 32, 101.

offence for a citizen to neglect to take a side when sedition reared its head. Or, as Mr. Balfour, speaking of our English parties, puts it, 'our whole political organisation is arranged in order that we may quarrel'—a system which would have long ago broken down if it had not been mitigated in practice by several modifying circumstances. For, as Mr. Balfour has pointed out, its success is mainly due to the fact that our party differences are not of so fundamental a character as to make one side anxious to exterminate the other; that they are usually based upon principle and not upon self-interest, and that Englishmen possess that natural moderation which prevents them from attributing infamous motives to their political opponents. Nevertheless, the roots of party strike deeper than Sir Henry Maine suggests. They spring from that dualism of things which seems to permeate the universe, and from the fact that every political society is the battle-ground of two antagonistic forces which are ever striving for the mastery: the force, that is to say, which makes for permanence and order, and the force which makes for change. The first is the cementing power which makes national life possible, and without which a people would become a congeries of disconnected atoms lying ready to be scattered like grains of sand before the wind; the second is the source of progress. It is by the composition of these forces that a state of political equipoise is reached, and it is probably in their conflict that the origin of political party is to be found. Mankind is not, of course, bisected into parties, for between the opposing sides lie infinite gradations; there is no absolute political dichotomy. But to one side or the other everybody consciously or unconsciously inclines, according to his temperament. For just as it has been said that every man is born an Aristotelian or a Platonist, so it may be as truly affirmed that everybody is at heart inclined either to the principle of permanence or to the principle of progress; that he is either fearful of disorder or hopeful of ameliorating change. Throughout the course of modern English history the line of cleavage may be traced, at first faint and dim, but gradually becoming more distinct. Under the names of Cavalier and Roundhead, of Tory and Whig, of Conservative and Liberal, the two parties have stood opposed to one another. The opposing forces of

expansion and contraction, centrifugal and centripetal, never rest, and it is upon their interplay and composition that national life depends. Without the one there would be no stability, and without the other no progress. Whatever may be thought about this much-debated subject, it will be generally allowed that one of the principal elements of progress is propensity to variation; for it is a mark of arrested civilisation to suspect divergencies from the normal and the customary, and to attempt to stamp them out. Whatever view be taken of the reality of progress, and of its ultimate constituents, it will be generally admitted that it at least presupposes order, and that it must be founded on the elements of permanence. Conservatism, or Toryism, to use the English party term, is made up of the tendencies and forces which make for permanence, order, and concentration, and check disintegration and the change, if we accept the Spencerian philosophy, from homogeneity to heterogeneity. The history of the party that embodies the principles of conservatism can hardly be of less interest and importance than that of the party that embodies the principles of progress; and if the history of progress may be defined as one of political dynamics, the history of conservatism may in like manner be defined as one of political statics.

It is necessary in the first place to inquire what in the last result of analysis are the forces which in their aggregate totality go to make conservatism. Such forces constitute, as it were, the unseen foundations of society; and the history of Toryism will be nothing less than a narration of the manner in which they have manifested themselves. With approximate accuracy, they may be thus briefly classified.

Toryism is in the first place deeply rooted in the physiological nature of mankind; it is to be traced to the unplumbed depths of the mind taken in its relation to the body, for it is based in the last resort on habit. 'The phenomena of habit,' says Professor James, 'in living beings are due to the plasticity of the organic materials of which their bodies are composed . . . our nervous system grows to the modes in which it has been exercised.'[1] This truth has been expressed in other words by saying that habit is the imitation of ourselves. It is

[1] James's *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i. pp. 105, 112, 120, 121, 125.

at any rate a physiological law of human nature, and it is doubtless here that one cause at least is to be found of the well-established fact that the feeling of conservatism usually operates more strongly in the old than in the young. Diminished energy, too, is a contributory cause; for strength prompts to action. Not only, indeed, is habit second nature, but with equal truth it may be said, as Pascal acutely pointed out, that nature is first habit.[1] This physiological law of habit, moreover, is in itself a manifestation of what Comte called an encyclopædic or universal law—that is to say, the law which denotes the spontaneous tendency of phenomena to continue indefinitely in the same state, if no disturbing influence intervenes. For what constitutes inertia in mechanics is habit in living beings, and the preservative instinct or custom in societies. Upon the importance of habit—the king of mortals and immortals, as Pindar described it—in individuals it would be superfluous to insist.[2] But upon custom in societies a few observations perhaps may be permitted. Custom lies at the very foundation of political society, which in the last resort is based less upon reason and argument than upon a body of feelings and beliefs to which custom lends stability. And this body of customary feelings and beliefs arises from intellectual habit; for, as Mr. Balfour has expressed it, one of the principal functions of mind is to create habits, by which, when they are fully formed, it is itself supplanted, and these habits form the rock-bed of certitude. Hence custom is, to quote Professor James again, 'the enormous fly-wheel of society, and it is its most precious conservative agent. It alone keeps us within the bounds of ordinance, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor.' This is why Locke—as indeed is the case with Liberal thinkers generally—saw little danger in holding Liberal principles; for, observing the inertia of society, he inferred that the risk of revolution was really very small. The great majority of men, indeed, when they admit the necessity of change, move very slowly; they adopt a policy of conservative innovation or of

[1] Cp. John Stuart Mill, *Subjection of Women*, ch. i. sec. 9: 'So true it is that unnatural generally means uncustomary, and that everything which is usual appears to be natural.'

[2] Herodotus, iii. 38; Plato, *Gorgias*, 484 B.

preservative addition; they love to engraft the new upon the old. The importance of custom, politically speaking, it would be difficult to overrate. In the ancient world it was, it is no exaggeration to say, a condition indispensable to the maintenance of societies. For it was the chief function of early institutions, it has been well said, to create 'a cake of custom.'[1] First came the age of servitude, and later on the age of freedom. The state of transition was full of danger. It was Jeroboam, for example, the first Liberal, a man of new ideas, who gave a rude shock to Jewish national unity. Custom has, again, a significance of a moral or religious kind, for it is that course of conduct which a community exacts; and it must therefore have been one of the earliest shapes in which the sense of duty presented itself to the consciousness of man. In the formation of national character, moreover, custom plays a most important part; for it is on the imitation of appreciated habit and the persecution of detested habit that such a character in the last resort is based. Almost everyone submits to the force of social custom, and gaucherie is simply a bad imitation of the habit that socially prevails. It is perhaps here that an explanation may be found for the phenomenon that political discontent is apt to be accompanied by singularity of costume. The sober apparel of the Roundhead, the red cap of the Sansculotte, and the white hat of the Radical of the early Victorian era are instances in point. Nor is this all. The fact that conservatism acts more strongly in the old than in the young has already been referred to, and, from the political point of view, it is productive of results which are well worth consideration. This is doubtless the reason why the revolutionary or radical spirit is pre-eminently the attribute of youth. It was not without warrant that Aristotle remarked that a young man is not a fit student of political philosophy, and that both Bacon and Shakespeare gave the saying the seal of their approval.[2] Then, in this connection, there is the reverence which is customarily paid to elders; and the similar reverence which, by one of the strangest inversions of thought, is paid to antiquity. For the ancient is really in point of time

[1] Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*; cp. H. Spencer's *Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 441: 'At that stage the assertion of personal liberties, wherever it occurred, was a fatal impediment to national growth and organisation.'

[2] Aristotle's *Ethics*, i. 3; Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, bk. ii.; Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act ii. Sc. 2.

the young, and the truth is, as Bacon expressed it in the saying *antiquitas saeculi juventus mundi.*

> For we are ancients of the earth,
> And in the morning of the times.

It is to this curious intellectual confusion that the regard felt for ancient institutions is in a great measure to be ascribed, and in this sense perhaps the saying of Carlyle may be accepted, that custom doth make cowards of us all. Not, indeed, that better grounds of defence are wanting in support of long-tried institutions. Custom has, with some justice, been defined as 'fossil reason.' And from the very fact that institutions have been a long time in existence they acquire a presumption in their favour, owing to that process of adaptation to environment to which they are necessarily subjected. The survival of any institution is in the long run determined by its survival value. The phrase, 'our venerable predecessors,' it is true, may not bear examination; yet there is truth in Hooker's words that 'the love of things ancient doth argue stayedness, but levity and want of experience maketh apt into innovations.' But, however that may be, the tendency of human nature to reverence the ancient, and to ascribe superior wisdom to those who have had a long experience of life, has been of great importance and left abundant traces in literature and popular belief. The poets' golden age; the theologians' dogma of the fall of man from a previous happy state; the vulgar notion of a primitive race of men of moral and physical superiority, may all doubtless be ascribed to this universally diffused and curious bent of thought. It is directly to the notion that in the evening of life there is mystical lore that the creations of such bodies as senates and presbyteries is due. Nor is there any less doubt that many ancient institutions have long outlived their usefulness, thanks to the superstitious reverence which has invested them with awe. To say with a distinguished modern writer that 'nothing has worked so much harm as an exaggerated respect for the past,' and that such respect is nothing but 'an indulgence of a poetic sentiment in favour of the remote and unknown,' would be perhaps to go too far.[1] Yet the warning of Burke is one

[1] Buckle's *History of Civilization,* chs. ii. and vii.

which will always be useful to remember. For those, he said, who pay exaggerated reverence to the past resemble the father of Scriblerus, who 'venerated the rust and canker which exalted a brazen pot-lid into the shield of a hero.' In the last resort, then, it may be said that conservatism is based on natural laws; for it has been physiologically established that the parts of an organism are specialised in order to resist change, and that the increase of rigidity thus brought about produces in old age a growing dislike to any deviation from a settled course of habit.

In close proximity to habit and custom lies man's natural inclination to indolence, and to obedience to and reverence for authority. Of both tendencies inertia is the spring, and they must therefore be placed among the sources of conservatism. The effects of indolence are too obvious for remark. But obedience is of somewhat more importance, for it is the foundation of national solidarity. A complex result, it is derived, in varying proportions, from deference, sympathy, and fear.[1] Deference or veneration, whether paid to persons or institutions, may be further resolved into the elements of wonder and fear. 'These two passions,' says a modern writer, 'either alone or combined, are the ordinary source of veneration, and the way in which they arise is obvious. We wonder because we are ignorant, and we fear because we are weak. And,' he continues, 'the habit of veneration, when carried into politics, tends to produce despotism, and, when carried into religion, to cause superstition: for it makes men submissive in their conduct and credulous in their belief.'[2] Of superstition, again, to carry the process of analysis still further, the principal sources are ignorance and danger, 'ignorance keeping men unacquainted with natural causes, and danger making them recur to supernatural ones.' The feeling of sympathy arises from the existence of a community of beliefs, tastes, and feelings, from a common ancestry and language, from a single system of law, and from

[1] Bryce's *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. i., essay iv.; vol. ii., essays ix., x.

[2] Buckle's *History of Civilization*, chs. x. and xvi.; cp. J. S. Mill, *Subjection of Women*, ch. ii. sec. 12: 'Command and obedience are but unfortunate necessities of human life; society in equality is its normal state.' On the other hand, said Lord Beaconsfield, 'Man is made to adore and obey.'

great historic memories. It needs but little stimulus from fear of punishment or vengeance to render the elements of subordination so strong as to be almost irresistible. The instinct of self-interest, itself derived from a consciousness of the advantages of national life, tends also to unite in swelling what may be called the agglutinative forces of society. The last of these forces, but by no means the least important, may be described as dislike of change, or, to use a newly coined word, as misoneism—a characteristic which is much more widely spread than is commonly supposed. 'Nothing,' writes Sir Henry Maine, speaking of progressive societies, 'is more remarkable than their extreme fewness. It is indisputable that much the greatest part of mankind has never shown a particle of desire that its civil institutions should be improved since the moment when external completeness was first given to them by their embodiment in some permanent record.'[1] It is certain that in regard to change of institutions mankind is almost always guided by the double argument of prejudice: that is to say, by the belief that what has lasted long must be right, and must therefore be intended to continue. So much is this the case that there is ground for thinking that democracies will turn out to be, of all forms of polity, the most conservative, because, in spite of superficial appearances to the contrary, popular beliefs are extraordinarily tenacious. It is certainly true that it is chiefly owing to the fact of the public character of manifestations of opinion, and of the intensity of feeling aroused by debate in assemblies, that fickleness and changeability have been so commonly ascribed to democratic governments.

Such, very briefly, are what may be called the original sources of Toryism. They may be perhaps summed up by saying that they constitute in the aggregate the desire of a people for a government strong enough to overcome the centrifugal and dissociative forces which are for ever sapping the foundation of society. It is the instinct of self-preservation which does more than anything else to mould the character of a nation. For the great problem of social evolution is to preserve

[1] Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. ii. Cp. Galton's *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, where he expresses the opinion that 'slavish aptitudes in man are a direct consequence of his gregarious nature.'

spontaneity and freedom together with the restraints needful for cohesion; to allow the integrating forces to have their due influence without stunting the principle of variation or differentiation upon which progress depends; to combine social cohesiveness with individual variability. Now the forces that make for this cohesion are the very fibre of national life itself, and it is in their development and maintenance that nationality may be said to find its chief expression. Lord Acton once said of Mr. Gladstone that if there had been no Tories, he would have invented them. No occasion for such a call on Mr. Gladstone's inventiveness could possibly have arisen, for without the Tories, or the party of cohesion, the nation would long ago have disappeared.

In the turmoil of this conflict of antagonistic forces in society it seems certain that the two great parties known to English history have arisen; and it would not be hazardous to conjecture that in all communities, where representative government exists, political parties have had a similar origin.

It is now possible to form a fairly accurate conception of what Toryism in its soul and essence is. It has been said that political opinion is not so much a reasoned conclusion as an instinct, and the saying is true of Toryism in no small degree. For it is not so much a doctrine as a temperament, an outlook on life and the world-problems, an attitude of mind which lays a special value on discipline, subordination, reverence for tradition and authority, and for historical continuity. Such sayings as that 'a nation which does not respect its past will have no future to deserve respect,' or that 'those will not look forward to posterity who never look backwards to their ancestors,' breathe the very genius of conservatism. Burke was animated by this spirit when he praised the English for their 'ancient permanent sense' and 'their sullen resistance of innovation, their unalterable perseverance in the wisdom of prejudice.' This, too, is what Lord Randolph Churchill meant when he said that British institutions are 'not so much the work of the genius of man, but rather the inspired offspring of time.' [1]

Toryism, again, is the sum total of the forces which, springing from the natural law of habit, make for permanence and order

[1] Winston Churchill's *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, vol. i. p. 293.

and consolidate national power and durability; while in opposition to it stand the forces of expansion which Liberalism—loving the abstract and the logical, thinking less of the state than of the man—collects beneath its banner. Or the distinction may be stated from other points of view. It has, for instance, been said that while a Frenchman regards himself as belonging to his country, the Englishman regards his country as belonging to himself. The French view would be more congenial to the Tory than to the Whig. Again, the difference might succinctly be described as that between the power of authority and of subordination in politics and theology on the one hand, and that of individualism and of independence on the other. It is a contrast similar in kind to that which subsisted between the characters of the ancient Greeks and Romans; for while the Hellene, or at any rate the Athenian, sacrificed the whole to the individual, the nation to the township, and the township to the city, giving free play to a rich and varied fund of human impulse, to an unrestrained fancy, and diversity of private judgement, the Roman regarded the State as all in all, deeming those to be bad citizens who differed from their fellows, and thinking the only worthy aim in life to be to work for the extension and glory of the nation. He thought more of the hive than of the bee.[1] The Tory is the Roman, and the Whig the Greek, of English history. If Liberalism enlarges the sympathies and cultivates the higher sentiments, it is the peculiar glory of Toryism to cherish patriotism and to produce a rare devotedness and a power of self-sacrifice. But though the Tory attitude of mind—a little nebulous and volatile, less rational than mystical—cannot easily be crystallised and translated into precise forms of speech, it can in a measure be made manifest and realised by a consideration of the individual Tories who, whether in thought, speech or action, have influenced the course of history. The occasion is one for the use of what the Germans have styled 'concrete thinking.'

It is impossible to state exactly when the two great English

[1] Cp. *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, vi. 54: 'That which advantages not the hive, advantages not the bee.' See also an interesting passage in Plato's *Timaeus*, 22, where an Egyptian priest thus addressed Solon: 'You Hellenes are but children, and there is never an old man who is an Hellene.'

parties took their rise. As a vague sense, a half-blind unconscious instinct, the spirit of party may be said to have existed from the beginning of English history. The protoplasm of party was there from the very first. Lord Beaconsfield said that party is 'organised opinion,' and though the saying presents only a single facet of the truth, yet it may be affirmed that there were no parties in the proper sense of the term until political opinion began to organise itself. Bacon, in his Essays, speaks of 'Faction or Partie,' but even in his time it cannot be said that the two great parties had come into being. Macaulay dates their 'corporate existence' from the meeting of the Parliament of 1641. It would perhaps be truer to say that it was then that their lineal ancestors, the Cavaliers and Roundheads, took their rise. For, as Bolingbroke, speaking of the year 1660, justly remarks, 'Roundhead and Cavalier were in effect no more, *Whig and Tory were not yet in being.* The only two apparent parties were Churchmen and Dissenters; and religious differences alone at that time maintained the distinction.' He dates the birth of the Whigs and Tories from the dissolution of the long Cavalier Parliament in 1679, though he adds that they 'did not grow up into full maturity nor receive their names till about two years afterwards.' Hallam was of a similar opinion. 'It was,' he says, 'in the year of 1679 that the words Whig and Tory were first heard in their application to English factions; . . . we shall perhaps discern the formation of these grand political sects in the petitions for the sitting of parliament, and in the counter-addresses of the opposite party.' And in another place he says: 'They were originally employed, at the time of the Bill of Exclusion, though the distinction of the parties they denote is evidently at least as old as the long parliament.' The origin of parties is ascribed by Professor Wilbur Abbott to an earlier date—namely, the time of the ministry of Clarendon, when the Royalist Churchmen and the Presbyterians came into hot collision.[1] The entry of new men into Parliament at by-elections had, he thinks, a perceptible effect in stimulating both sides to organise their

[1] Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*, Letter iii.; Hallam's *Constitutional History*; *The English Historical Review*, No. 81, article on the Long Parliament of Charles II., by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott.

forces. The foundation of the Whig party has been traced by some writers to the year 1675, when the French Ambassador first intrigued with the four Opposition peers, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Wharton, and Ogle. Ranke, speaking of the reign of William III., says it was then that the two great parties 'first began to come into full being'; and if it be admitted that they existed in a rudimentary state before, the remark perhaps is strictly true.[1] It would, perhaps, on the whole be unsafe to go beyond a general statement that the Whig and Tory parties arose gradually during the reign of Charles II., and that they became distinctly visible at one particular moment—at the time, that is to say, when, to quote the historian Green, 'the masses of the people were stirred to a more prolonged and organised action in co-operation with the smaller groups of professed politicians than they had ever been stirred before.' English parties, therefore, may be said to have come into being with the first beginnings of the organisation of political opinion.

[1] Ranke's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 291.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATIONS OF TORYISM

A nation which does not respect its past will have no future to deserve respect.—BURKE.

THE year 1660 seems, upon the whole, a convenient point at which to begin the history of Toryism. For it was during the reign of Charles II. that the modern system of government by Cabinet and party began to be evolved out of the confusions of the past; and it is indisputable that the protracted Cavalier Parliament, which lasted from 1661 to 1679, did in fact represent Tory principles before the word itself was heard in its political application. The Tory party, at any rate, was at that time in the making. During the time of civil strife, before the Restoration, the Cavaliers and Roundheads, though they distinctly marked the lines of party cleavage, opposed one another more in the field than in the senate. The differences between them were too acute to allow of party government; and its essential conditions, the spirit of compromise, of mutual toleration, of fair argument and free debate, were abandoned in the clash of arms. The kinetic energy of a minority has seldom gained a victory more complete than that which fell to the lot of the Puritans. The Restoration, therefore, may be taken approximately to be the time when the great English parties began to emerge and take definite shape as organised political bodies, and to play a regular, though very imperfect, part in the machinery of constitutional government. The events of the year 1660 were in fact much more than an incident in the annals of a dynasty; they were, indeed, a signal illustration of what has been well called the rhythmical motion of opinion. Every restoration is in effect a revolution. The pendulum of thought

and motion first swings in one direction, reaches its zenith, and then swings the other way ; and so, at this time, the explosive forces of expansion, which had torn and rent the State, were in their turn overcome by forces of a contrary kind. For the Restoration was the negation of the deeds and aspirations of the Commonwealth. A more remarkable example of the visible movements of the forces of conservatism is scarcely elsewhere in history to be found than that displayed in England during the years from 1660 to 1688. As a manifestation of Toryism the period is, therefore, one of extraordinary interest.

That the nation should have turned, as it were, by intuition, and the governing classes by deliberate judgement, to the recall of Charles II. was under the circumstances inevitable. It was with as much truth as wit that he himself declared that it was his own fault that he had stayed away so long, since everyone seemed so glad to have him back. The Civil War and the Commonwealth had, so to speak, prepared the mould into which the events of the Restoration were to drop ; the psychological atmosphere or climate was at the moment peculiarly congenial to the growth of conservative ideas. Below opinions, it should never be forgotten, lie the sentiments that predetermine them ; and, from the historical point of view, the complex feelings that form the soil in which opinions grow are even more important than the opinions themselves when fully formed. It will be of interest, therefore, to look beneath the surface and to see what was the character of the feelings that were stirring most profoundly the minds of the people to their depths.

The Civil War and the Commonwealth were events which gave a severe shock to national solidarity, and caused a marked diminution in the strength and efficacy of the sentiment of loyalty to government. The Roundheads did not conceive with the same vigour as their opponents the idea of nationality in its unity and power ; they did not realise so vividly the State as an organism, with a will and conscience of its own. Subordination and obedience had become unfashionable virtues. ' All relations,' says Clarendon, ' were confounded by the several sects in religion, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as relics and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents, nor did they concern themselves

in the education of their children. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents, but every one did that which was good in his own eyes. The relation between masters and servants had been long since dissolved by the Parliament that their army might be increased by the prentices against their masters' consent.'[1] It was to repair the breaches which had been thus made in national consolidation and coherence that the forces of conservatism were so vigorously employed during the period of the Restoration.

The first object of the statesman at this critical moment was to preserve the State from breaking up; the call was imperative and would admit of no delay; the very real sense of impending anarchy and of dissolution into the dust and powder of individuality touched the national feeling to the quick. Self-preservation is the first instinct of a nation. Never perhaps in English history was patriotic feeling so sensitive and keen. The roots of patriotism and Toryism are so closely intertwined that it will be useful to pause and consider very briefly the elemental factors of what, to sum up a complex whole, may be conveniently spoken of as nationalism. The spirit of Toryism, with its sense of an historic past, is the very genius of national life, and it is therefore of first-rate importance to view it carefully in this relation.

The English Restoration was accomplished in a manner that might have been expected—that is to say, in conformity with the English intellectual temperament, with its power to comprehend the requirements of the moment and to satisfy them with circumspection and practical good sense. The crying need of England in 1660 was, to speak briefly, a strong central government; and to provide it was the great problem which the statesmen of that time had to face. It was upon the Tory party and the organised conservative opinion, so far as it existed that they naturally relied. The most obvious course was to restore the state of things that existed before the Civil War; but England since then had gone through a great experience, and the past could not wholly be undone. Almost all the political changes effected before the end of August 1641 were accepted as

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.

unalterable facts. Yet even starting from this basis as a common ground of action, three subjects of paramount importance, the Monarchy, the Church, and the Army, in their several relations to the nation, remained to be considered. The treatment of each of these questions forms no small part of the history of Toryism.

The restoration of the Monarchy may be said to have been inevitable. The bringing home of Charles II. repaired, as nothing else could, the breach in historical continuity, which lasted so long as the heir of the ancient dynasty—that golden pomp of a long line of kings—remained in exile. England was above everything a 'sceptred isle.' The execution of Charles I. and the exile of his son were an inexpiable outrage upon Tory sentiment. The tie of personal allegiance, powerful and subtle, though indefinable, which looks on tempests and is never shaken, was strong to a degree that it is difficult to realise. There must have been an element of charm about the Stewarts, for, in spite of faults and follies not a few, through all their record of disasters from the death of Mary Queen of Scots until their star finally set in the person of the Young Pretender, they won loyalty from their followers in an extraordinary degree. There are few more pathetic things in history than the wonderful disinterestedness with which some of the adherents of the Stewarts devoted lives and fortunes to princes who too often proved unworthy of their love. Such was the loyalty of the 'incomparable' Falkland, who, says Clarendon, died as much of the time as of the bullet; that figure so gracious and so prodigal of soul who in the flower of manhood fell fighting for the cause which he knew was doomed to failure. Such too was the loyalty of Sir Edmund Verney, who said of Charles I.: 'I have eaten his bread and served him nearly thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to desert him, and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure to do—to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend.'[1] This sentiment of loyalty, derived in varying degrees from duty, affection, and religion, found beautiful expression in the well-known lines of Samuel Butler:

[1] Letter of Sir E. Verney to E. Hyde.

For loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon.[1]

However this may be, the national enthusiasm for, and faith in, kingship was rooted in causes, natural and historical, which even now have by no means spent their force.

That monarchy, therefore, should have appeared to the English people in 1660 to be the natural form of government it is not difficult to understand. There was perhaps no human institution at once so ancient and so widely spread. There was none other that seemed so simple and so likely to be effective in maintaining order and consistency in resolution and in action. It harmonised, too, with the analogy that was imagined to obtain between the family and the State. The notion that the family was the prototype of government, that the king is *pater patriae*, or what is known as the patriarchal theory of the origin of political society, was plausible and very commonly accepted. Bacon was one of those who held the theory to the fullest extent. 'The first platform of monarchy,' he says, 'is that of a father, who, governing over his wife by prerogative of sex, over his children by prerogative of age, because he is author unto them of being, and over his servants by prerogative of virtue and providence (for he that is able of body and improvident of mind is *natura servus*), is the very model of king.' And again: 'Monarchies do not subsist by a precedent law or compact'; the original submission to them is natural, 'like the obedience of a child to his parents,' and 'allegiance to hereditary monarchs is the work of the law of nature.'[2]

Both Hooker and Locke inclined to the belief that monarchy was in its origin fatherhood exalted and enhanced; and it is by no means improbable that at a time when kinship in blood was the sole ground of political community, the father of a family may have grown into a king. Next, kingship was an institution which fitted in well with those medieval views of government which in the seventeenth century still extensively

[1] Butler's *Hudibras*, iii. 2; cp. Galton's *Inquiry into Human Faculty* for a condemnation of servility in loyalty.

[2] Bacon's argument in the case of the post-nati of Scotland, *Works*, vol. vii. Edited by Spedding and Heath.

prevailed. It was believed that the principle of unity—an abstract idea that obtained a kind of superstitious reverence—could be maintained only in the person of a monarch. The political thought of the time conceived dimly of a *civitas Dei*, or of an *imperium mundi*, comprehending the universe, of a divinely-ordered harmony of parts making up a whole; of individual States as microcosms of the world; of oneness and unity, as the basis of all things, and therefore of social existence. It was believed that all order consists in the subordination of plurality to unity, and that this result could only be obtained when the one ruled the many; that a single force to control the subordinate forces was absolutely necessary; and, the ruler being considered as a head, the inference was drawn that nature demanded a monarchy, since one head alone was possible. It appeared self-evident that the government of a nation by a king was the closest likeness to the government of the universe by God; while a republic, on the other hand, seemed irreligious, inasmuch as it was impossible to anoint a council or a popular assembly. The State, again, being sometimes conceived of as an organism like the human body, it was consequently argued that the unifying principle of political bodies was the will, and that one man's will was the necessary agent of control. It is little wonder that the medieval publicists, thinking that they saw a monarchical order in the constitution of the universe, alike in animate and inanimate nature, should have believed that of all forms of government monarchy was the best suited for the preservation of society and for the attainment of its ends.[1]

If there ever was an English monarch whose right of succession was marked by infirmity of title, that one was James I. His family had been expressly excluded by statute and by Henry VIII.'s testamentary disposition; his mother had been put to death for treason, and he himself was born an alien. Yet by the universal consent of the nation he stepped into the vacant place, and his title was ratified by Parliament. The dangers of a disputed succession were too insistent to be disregarded, and in defiance of all precedent he succeeded by the right of birth alone. The Dedication of the Authorised Version

[1] Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Age*.

of the Bible is a masterpiece of audacious contradiction of the truth; for it declares that a monarch whose title to reign was exceedingly infirm was in possession of 'an undoubted title' to the throne. It is no wonder that the dedicators sought to cover his deficiencies by such obsequious terms of address as 'most dread sovereign,' 'sanctified person,' and 'your sacred majesty.' The fact was a new and significant one in English history, and destined, as will hereafter be seen, to have most momentous consequences in relation to the history of Toryism. So completely inverted was the point of view from which men regarded kingship that, whereas originally the capacity of the ruler was the qualification almost exclusively regarded, now lineal descent was the only thing that was seriously considered. The weaker the sovereigns became, the more solicitude they showed about their title.[1]

There can be no question that to the great mass of the English people the Restoration was not only welcome, but an event to which they could scarcely conceive of an alternative. Reason, tradition, history, and natural inclination all pointed in the same direction. Monarchy not only seemed to be placed in just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, but, under the new conception of it, to be the body and express image of conservatism. For, to quote the noble words of Burke, 'the people of England well know, that the idea of an inheritance furnished a sure principle of conservatism, and a sure principle of transmission, without at all excluding a principle of improvement.' Such a principle of inheritance and transmission, he goes on to say, corresponds to that 'mysterious corporation of the human race' of which the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged or young, but in a condition of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. 'Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the State, in what we improve, we are never wholly new, in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete.'[2] The Royalist of 1660 might well think that he held an incontrovertible and inexpugnable position.

[1] *Studies in English History*, by James Gairdner and James Spedding; Essay on the Divine Right of Kings.

[2] Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

There can be very little doubt that the home-coming of Charles II. was, except to a small body of irreconcilable extremists, very popular. It is almost certain, indeed, that an appeal to the people would at any time since the death of Charles I. have been fatal to the Puritan cause. Now the wheel had come full circle. 'The whole nation,' says a contemporary, Sir John Bramston, 'was desirous of the King's return, without whom they see there would be no end of war and trouble.'[1] The exclamation of John Evelyn, who stood and watched the King's progress in the Strand, must have echoed the thoughts of many minds: 'It was,' he said, 'the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.'[2] The year might well appear an *annus mirabilis*, with which 'a series of new time began.' Men's hopes ran high. 'There began,' says the biographer of Jeremy Taylor, 'a new world, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and out of a confused chaos brought forth beauty and order, and all the three nations were inspired with a new life and became drunk with an excess of joy.'[3] There were some hypocrites among the revellers, of course, time-servers who hastened to fall down in adulation before the rising sun, or who wished to have the appearance at least of penitence for their conduct in the past. The joy of the nation as a whole was, however, quite sincere; for to many, indeed, the period of the Commonwealth had been a worse than iron age. The progress of the King from Dover to London was one continuous triumph. In many churches and houses, and on merchant vessels in the Thames, the royal arms were seen again. 'Everybody,' notes Pepys, 'now drinks the King's health, without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it.'[4] No words were too extravagant to use in praise of the King and of his two brothers, the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester. They were 'The Three Royal Cedars,' or 'Great Britain's Glorious Diamonds.' A perfect flood of panegyric was let loose. From the University of Oxford alone there issued no fewer than one hundred and forty-eight poems, written in Latin, Greek, and

[1] Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography*.
[2] Evelyn's *Diary*.
[3] Gosse's *Jeremy Taylor*, p. 160.
[4] Pepys's *Diary*.

French.[1] It was an orgy of extravagant adulation, in which the authors of them revelled. Men recalled to memory how, when Charles I. was on his way to St. Paul's to return thanks for his eldest son's birth, the planet Venus shone out at mid-day, and how 'to behold this babe Heaven seemed to open one eye more than usual.' The courtly Edmund Waller, who had written in praise of Cromwell, was ready, of course, with congratulatory verses for the King. When Charles said that he thought that the lines to the Protector were superior to those dedicated to himself, the poet's wit was equal to the occasion. 'Poets, sir,' he replied, 'succeed better in fiction than in truth.' Even Cudworth the philosopher contributed some Hebrew verses to a Cambridge volume of eulogistic poems; and if Jeremy Taylor abstained from flights of fancy, he prefaced his 'Ductor Dubitantium' with some words of welcome to the King. John Evelyn, too, fell in with the fashion of the hour; for on the day after the Coronation he presented the King with a poem, which, he says, 'he was pleased to accept most graciously.'

The national love of monarchy was unquestionably the strongest of the forces which combined to bring about the Restoration. It remains to estimate and analyse the rest of them.

It was a common wish at this moment in the nation's history that party feeling should be merged in the unanimity of a joyful and contented people. The King himself was doubtless quite sincere when he declared in his Declaration from Breda that 'all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties should be utterly abolished'; and Clarendon was no less so in his words of exhortation to Parliament: 'If the old reproaches of Cavalier and Roundhead and Malignant, be committed to the grave, let us not find more significant and better words, to signify worse things; let not piety and godliness grow into terms of reproach, and distinguish between the court, the city and the country.'[2] But all these wishes proved nothing but an idle dream. The old party associations were, indeed, broken

[1] *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. 'England's Joy'; and the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report v., Appendix: The Papers of the Duke of Sutherland.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. pp. 126–127.

up and shifting, 'like floating islands,' says a contemporary writer, 'sometimes joining and appearing like a continent, when the next flood or ebb separates them, that it can hardly be known, where they are next.'[1] But they reappeared in new shapes and under different names. The old line of cleavage, however, remained essentially the same. Most of the great landowners and their dependents, the clergy, the Churchmen and the Roman Catholics, were for the King and his Government; the small yeomen freeholders, the merchants, the shopkeepers, the alien settlers, and the Nonconformists were on the side of the opposition. What Colonel Hutchinson says of the Civil War remained still substantially true, though the struggle took another form. 'Most of the gentry of the country' were for the King, and most of the 'middle sort, the able substantial freeholders,' were for the Parliament.[2] Or, as Baxter said with much insight, 'the tenantry of the aristocracy also, and the great body of the common people, who may be said to be constitutionally loyal, were for the monarch. *He had thus two ends of the chain, but wanted the middle and connecting links.*'[3] The contest now was over, but the force of old ties and old feelings still subsisted, and they became the nucleus around which parties formed themselves anew. The old names gradually fell into disuse, for such terms as 'Cavalier' and 'Malignant,' 'Roundhead' and 'Puritan,' were old-fashioned and inapplicable to the new order of affairs. After the Restoration it would perhaps be true to say that for the first twenty years the only regular party names were those of 'Court' and 'Country'—terms, indeed, which, as will be seen, summed up a good deal of concentrated passion, and contained a world of meaning.

It is in the constituents of what may conveniently be designated the 'Court' party that the forces of conservatism at this time are to be found.

This party formed in some respects a motley and heterogeneous group. The peer, the accomplished gentleman, and the learned members of the universities have to be classed with the illiterate peasantry, the rough squires, and the hardly less

[1] Osmond Airey's *Charles II.* p. 138.
[2] *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, by Lucy Hutchinson.
[3] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 33.

unpolished rural clergy. At a time when the great towns had not yet come into existence, the two latter formed together perhaps the most important political body in the nation. The real character of the party has been much misunderstood because the Restoration period has become a by-word for licentiousness. But the facts, when narrowly examined, do not by any means support all the conclusions which have been built upon them. The symptoms, which have so much impressed historians, were to a large extent temporary, superficial, and accidental. To begin with, the extravagance of joy with which the King's return was welcomed was felt by almost the entire population. The Royalists were not the only persons who gave themselves up to revelry. It was a genuine national outburst. No doubt, too, it is true to say that there was a strong reaction from the sour severity of the Puritan domination; for though you may expel Nature with a fork, yet she will always return. But the whole truth is to be sought in deeper causes still.

For of all the bitter fruits of civil war, perhaps the bitterest is the state of moral disintegration that commonly results from it. For it is then that, to use the words of Solon, 'man seems altogether chance.'[1] What happened in England at this time did not distantly resemble the state of things that Thucydides has described in his memorable chapters on the Revolution in Corcyra. It is a sombre and terrible picture that he draws. The very names of the moral qualities were inverted; cunning and frantic energy were the supreme virtues, enormous revenges were the chief objects of desire; religion was made a cloak for crime, and goodness and simplicity were laughed out of the world.[2] In like manner in England the Civil War had engendered recklessness of conduct. When the future was incalculable, the pursuit of present enjoyment was the only course of prudence. A premium was placed upon hypocrisy, and just as among the professed Puritans there were many who were so only in the outward show of garb and language, so there were many at the Restoration who saw in that event nothing but a pretext for unbridled self-indulgence. The result was, as Burnet says, 'the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety; all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overran the

[1] Herodotus, i. 32: *πᾶν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος συμφορή.*

[2] Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. vi. part ii. ch. 50.

three Kingdoms to such a degree that it very much corrupted their morals.'[1] The King seems to have had some notion of what was likely to occur, for, says Baxter, 'he sent over a proclamation against such men as, while they call themselves the King's party, did live in debauchery and profaneness.'[2] He had the shrewdness to perceive the injury that was likely to be done to his cause by 'those riotous cavaliers' who were 'giving no other evidence of their affection to us but in drinking our health.' 'We are all commanded to be plaguey godly' is the significant comment of one of those at whom the proclamation was aimed. The command, indeed, was not obeyed, if the words of a contemporary writer are to be believed. 'He that cannot swear and swagger, drink, rant and rogue, is looked upon (by some) as a pitiful fellow, and not worth their keeping company, and if he cannot vapour, he is not looked upon to have any valour; these vices have got such a custom of late, that they are looked upon to be the only badge to distinguish a cavalier from a sectary. . . . But swearing, cursing, lying, backbiting, and insinuating are counted no sins amongst us.'[3] It has been said that no man is a hypocrite in his pleasures, but this was by no means an impossible achievement for those whose chief anxiety was to show themselves to be the realous partisans of the persons who had gifts and favours to bestow. Above all, it should be borne in mind that those whose delinquencies are so frequently related by contemporary writers were a comparatively small class who were visible above the horizon of society—that is to say, those who were received at Court and hung about its fringe.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that these abandoned persons formed any great or important portion of the nation, or even of the Cavalier party. Nay, rather there is abundant ground for thinking that the character of the great mass of the people, whose silent virtues have found no historian to record them, was untainted at the core. That the Cavaliers were for the most part men who loved to enjoy themselves is indeed

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 168.

[2] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 159.

[3] Somers *Tracts* (third collection), vol. ii. : A Royal Proclamation against vicious, debauched and prophane persons; Truth's Discovery.

probable enough. For, as it has been well said, 'the very essence of Toryism is enjoyment. . . . . The way to keep up old customs, is to enjoy all customs; the way to be satisfied with the present state of things, is to enjoy that state of things. . . . So long as this world is this world, will a buoyant life be the proper source of an animated Conservatism.' High-spirited men, 'open to every enjoyment, alive to every passion, eager and impulsive, brave without discipline, prizing luxury, despising danger, capable of high sentiment'—such doubtless were many of the Royalists.[1] It was from the very soil of their weaknesses, moreover, that their perfect loyalty blossomed into flower; for it is tumultuous and ardent natures which feel the need of obeying some external moral rule. It would therefore be a grave error to suppose that the 'Court' party of the Restoration was sunk wholly in profanity and dissipation. Margaret Godolphin's saintly life is conclusive evidence to the contrary. Even the guilty could plead some palliation for their faults. They had suffered much. Some were the children or near relatives of those who had died fighting in the field, others were reduced to beggary and want; not a few might have justly claimed to say that all was lost but honour. They had reason, too, for thinking that the rule of the saints did not always tend to edify. For there was probably much truth in the observation of Roger North that 'hypocrisy had seized on all the public appearances of things, and godliness in their sense grew up to such a credit that there was never enough fasting, praying and preaching,' and that 'the experiment of reformation had proved a deformation of all that was good, and religion . . . found to be mere hypocrisy to serve as an engine of power and tyranny.'[2] It was a lamentable result that religion itself became suspected; and great was the rebound. Moreover, as Pepys has justly pointed out, the Cavalier gentleman, having been for a long time debarred from public service, had lost the power of application. 'For the most part,' he says, 'they have either given themselves over to look after country and family business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery.'[3] Lastly, many suffered for the characteristic

[1] Bagehot's *Literary Studies*, vol. ii.; Essay on Macaulay.
[2] Roger North's *Autobiography*. [3] Pepys's *Diary*.

faults of those who return home after having spent the best years of life in exile. Of such it has been said that there is nothing they learn or forget. There is surely a touch of pathos in the words of Clarendon: 'The Royalists were,' he says, 'full of bitter reflections upon the actions and behaviour of others, or of excuses or apologies for themselves,' and gave themselves up to 'the woful vice of drinking, from the uneasiness of their fortunes, or the necessity of frequent meetings together for which taverns were the most secure places.' [1]

But if the Cavalier was at his worst a toper and a rake, he was at his best a great gentleman. Of this admirable type there were many more than upon a superficial view might be supposed. The Puritan idea that no man could be religious and at the same time a gentleman was intrinsically absurd. More stirring examples of unshakeable fidelity to a cause and affectionate loyalty to a person are not to be found in history than among those who rallied round the throne of Charles II. The Duke of Newcastle may be taken as typical of the great nobleman—an eminent illustration of the saying of his Duchess that the title of gentleman is 'is the act of time, not favour.' 'He was,' says Clarendon, 'a very fine gentleman, active and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing and fencing, which accompany good breeding, amorous of poetry and music.' The friend of Jonson, Shirley, Davenant and Dryden, an author of songs and plays, an interested correspondent of men of science, the compiler of a sumptuous book on horsemanship, the patron of Hobbes, to whom he is said euphemistically to have given 'silver spurs,' it is little wonder that he was regarded as the English Maecenas of his time. 'A fantastical virtuoso on horseback,' says a critic of a later age; but he was something more than that.[2] If the Duke may be taken to typify the *haute noblesse*, his Duchess may be taken to represent the great lady of the period. 'The whole history of this lady is a romance,' says Pepys, 'and all

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.

[2] *The Cavalier and his Lady*, by Edward Jenkins, Introduction; *The Life of William Cavendish*, by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, edited by C. H. Firth, Preface; *A Catalogue of Letters and other Historical Documents exhibited in the Library at Welbeck*, compiled by S. Arthur Strong; songs and sketches of plays by the Duke of Newcastle.

she does is romantic.' But to the romance of her life must be added the achievements of a more enduring fame. Her philosophical and scientific writings, indeed, though she valued them highly, have no significance; but though Pepys was ungallant enough to say that her biography of her husband was 'ridiculous,' and showed her to be 'a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman,' and that the Duke was 'an ass' for allowing her to write it, the work is in truth a charming piece of literature. Charles Lamb may be thought to have given it exaggerated praise in saying that 'no casket is rich enough, no casing sufficiently durable to honour and keep safe such a jewel'; but there is scarcely any other writing which so faithfully breathes the very spirit of that circle of society in which she moved and lived. The picture of her noble household, elegant, accomplished and refined, with its diverse intellectual interests, is of abiding charm and lasting value. She must have been no ordinary personage of whom Evelyn records that he was much pleased with her 'extraordinary fanciful habit, garb and discourse,' and to whom he pays one of the most delicate of compliments. Writing to thank her for some presentation copies of her books, he assures her that in thinking of her genius and her wit he can never call to mind her person 'but to rank it among the heroines and constellate it with the Graces.'

To descend from the aristocracy to the middle classes of society, perhaps no better example of the Cavalier gentleman is to be found than this same John Evelyn, the Diarist. The jottings in his notebook are not only of great historical value, but they reveal also one of the most delightful and lovable characters in English history. His gentle courtesy bears witness to the truth of Emerson's saying that while conservatism is debonaire and social, the reforming spirit is individual and imperious. His life, which covered a span from 1620 to 1706, has been called an episode in five reigns, and during all this tract of time he was known to almost everybody of any eminence, and beloved by whomsoever he was known. He was the very ideal of an English country gentleman, loyal, devout, and public-spirited. His versatility was boundless. A virtuoso, a lover of literature, a founder of the Royal Society, an ardent Royalist, a zealous son of the Church, he touched life at many points.

There seems to have been hardly any region of inquiry into which the author of 'Sylva' has not penetrated or in which he did not take a lively interest. Whether it was art, archæology, anatomy, architecture, forestry, the smoke nuisance, the invention of a new fuel, the making of cider, or the printing of correct editions of the classics, they all came alike to Evelyn. He even wrote some plays and poems which he read aloud to Pepys, who records that he thought them 'not transcendent.' 'A most excellent person' indeed, but doubtless, as Pepys remarked, with just 'a little conceitedness,' he seemed only to lack intensity and concentration to become one of the great intellects of his time. The benefactor of Jeremy Taylor, the friend of Sir Christopher Wren, 'that miracle of a youth,' 'that rare and early prodigy of universal science,' the discoverer of Grinling Gibbons, 'the incomparable young man,' whom he introduced to fame, he was acquainted with all that was best and brightest in his time. Averse from political controversy and hating 'the falsehood of extremes,' he was capable of showing no small amount of moral courage. In 1649 he published what was substantially a French tract on liberty, and in the introduction he had the temerity to say that in the past five thousand years 'never was there either heard or read of a more equal and excellent form of government' than that which existed during the 'halcyon days' of Charles I. Still bolder was his action in 1659, when he published his 'Apology for the Royal Party.' Yet the work was justified by its success; for 'it was twice printed,' he says, 'so universally it took.' His disinterestedness was displayed by his filling during three reigns various posts in the public service which must have been much more arduous than profitable. As a Commissioner for reforming buildings and streets in London, for regulating the Mint, for the care of the sick and wounded during the Dutch wars, and for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral; as one of the Council of Trade and Plantations; as Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital; he did much useful work. An *anima naturaliter Christiana*, his love of the Anglican Church was one of the master passions of his life. She was, he thought, 'the most primitive, apostolical and excellent on earth,' and he gave practical proof of his belief by many offices of friendship and munificence to her ministers

during the darkest hours of their distress. He mentions with approval a sermon of Dr. Basire, the so-called French Apostle, wherein 'he shewed that the Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency and beauty, the most perfect under heaven'; and in a manner characteristically Tory he praises Dr. Breton's sermon on 'the lawfulnesse, the decentnesse, and necessitie of subordinate degrees and ranks of men and servants, as well in the Church and State, against the late levellers and others of that dangerous rabble who would have all alike.' Yet he tempered his zeal with a breadth of mind which other Churchmen would have done well to imitate; for he saw no reason why there should not be 'some relaxations without the least prejudice to the present establishment, discreetly limited.' But strong Tory though he was, he rose superior to the vices which deeply stained the party of which he was so illustrious a member. The immorality of the Court, the licentiousness of the stage, the barbarity of the bear-garden—that 'rude and dirty pastime'—alike met with his strong disapprobation.[1]

A more interesting representative of middle-class Toryism is that other and still more famous diarist, Samuel Pepys. This is not the place to discuss those problems of psychology which are suggested by the self-revelations of his incomparable Diary; it is only in his relations to Toryism that in this place he has to be considered. But this at least may be said, that in one way he was a more thorough-going Tory, a more typical Cavalier than Evelyn ever was. A more pleasure-loving man, he enjoyed his life with more zest and greater gusto. What Evelyn was by conviction, it perhaps may be said that Pepys was by temperament.

Of this engaging personality Evelyn, who was his friend for more than forty years, has left us a very pleasing picture. 'A very worthy, industrious and curious person,' he calls him; one who was 'universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation.' In his salad days he seems to have leaned towards republican opinions, for he tells us that in 1660 he was very much afraid of the possible

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*; Pepys's *Diary*.

recollections of an old school-fellow. 'He did remember,' he says, 'that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy.' He was present at the execution of Charles I., and remarked that if he had to preach he would do so from the text, 'The memory of the wicked shall rot'; and the memory of the malignant satisfaction which he felt on this occasion seems to have touched his conscience afterwards. At any rate he witnessed the execution of the regicide Harrison, and there is just a touch of contrition in his note on the event: 'Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross.' In 1660, however, he became a thorough-going Royalist, and was on board the fleet that brought Charles II. to England. As 'Clerk of Acts' and 'Secretary of the Admiralty,' he completely identified himself with the Government of the Restoration, and proved himself an able and energetic public servant.[1] With the royal family his relations were intimate and friendly, and the Duke of York held him in particular esteem, which he showed by his gifts of a chess table and a silver cup and his portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller. It is recorded that at the moment when, as James II., he received the news of the landing of William of Orange, he was sitting for this very portrait, and refused to be disturbed, saying, 'I have promised Mr. Pepys my picture and I will finish the sitting.' In turns Master of the Trinity House, President of the Royal Society, Governor of Christ's Hospital, the friend of Selden, Harrington and Newton, Pepys almost rivalled Evelyn in the universality of his interests and the catholicity of his friendships. He resembled him also in his devotion to the Church. The 'Eikon Basilike' he read and thought 'a noble book.' He was a constant member of the congregation of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and he notes with satisfaction how the incumbent, Mr. Mills, 'did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer' to the bewilderment of his hearers, who were not accustomed to its use; and how later the whole Book of Common Prayer was read, which, he says, 'I was glad of.' He notes too with no less pleasure the reintroduction of music into the services of the Church. It was in Whitehall Chapel

[1] *The National Review*, July 1906; article on 'Samuel Pepys, the Regenerator of the Navy,' by Captain Melville Lee.

that he heard for the first time in his life 'the organs and singing men in surplices,' and in Westminster Abbey for the first time 'the organs in a Cathedral'—an innovation which attracted crowds of people. Whether he altogether liked the use of the surplice by the clergy is not equally certain; for when he saw it for the first time at St. Olave's, something happened that touched his sense of humour. 'It seemed absurd,' he says of Mr. Mills, 'for him to pull it over his ears in the reading pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit, to preach without it.'[1] But however that may be, his love of the Church liturgy and doctrine led him into trouble. For when in 1673 he was elected to represent Castle Rising in Parliament, his election was objected to upon the frivolous ground that he was a Papist in disguise.[2] He was only what afterwards came to be known as a High Churchman. Yet he was a severe critic of the bishops and the clergy, if he thought their conduct harmful to the Church; and, like his friend Evelyn, he was unsparing in his censure of the Court and of the fashionable vices of society. At the Revolution he proved the strength of his convictions by giving up his appointment at the Admiralty and becoming a Non-juror, and retired into private life at Clapham, where it is pleasant to read that he resided 'in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoyed the fruite of his labours in greate prosperity.'[3]

Such, in brief outline, were the characteristics of three prominent Tories, who may be taken to represent very fairly the spirit and mental outlook of the classes of society to which they respectively belonged. That spirit and outlook will be more vividly realised by a more general and comprehensive examination of the personal sources from which the strength of Toryism was principally drawn. Of these perhaps the most important were the landed gentry. Full of prejudices, hating foreigners and Dissenters, despising traders and the dwellers in towns, profoundly attached to the Church, gross in his tastes and rough in his manners, but sincere and intensely patriotic, the squire was Tory to the core. It is true that as a class the

[1] Pepys's *Diary*; and *Pepysiana*, supplementary volume to Wheatley's edition of the *Diary*.

[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. ii. p. 407.

[3] Evelyn's *Diary*.

country gentry were not intellectual or refined. 'They are,' says Bishop Burnet, 'for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst'; often 'ill-taught and ill-bred,' 'haughty and insolent,' thinking it fine 'to laugh at religion and virtue.' At the universities they learned 'to love arbitrary government, and to become slaves to absolute monarchy . . . they are easily brought to like slavery, if they may be the tools for managing it.'[1] The character of the country squire has been vividly drawn by Samuel Butler. He is, he says, 'a clown of rank and degree' . . . the custom of being the best man in his own territories has made him the worst everywhere else . . . the top of his entertainment is horrible strong beer.' His manner of living and behaviour is 'as the coat of a colt that has been bred on a common'; his sole conversation is of his horses and his dogs, and his idea of hospitality that of making his guests drunk with strong beer, and ordering his servants to do the same with theirs.[2] What he was like on the rare occasions when he visited the Metropolis may be imagined from what Sir Thomas Overbury, writing some fifty years before Butler, says about him: 'Nothing under a subpœna can draw him to London, and when he is there he sticks fast upon every object, casts his eyes away upon gazing, and becomes the prey of every catspaw. When he comes home, those wonders serve him for his holiday talk.'[3] We are informed by Pepys that in his father's lifetime it was customary for a country gentleman to make his will before he went to London—so adventurous seemed the journey. In all this, though the lines have been painted in colours chosen for effect, there is doubtless much fidelity to truth. Yet it must not be supposed that every country gentleman was a bumpkin, a toper, and a dupe. There must have been not a few who were worthy to be classed with that fine representative of Toryism, John Evelyn. It was an additional reason, too, why the landed gentry should rally round the throne of Charles II., that they were bound to him by the special tie of gratitude. For it was not until the beginning of his reign that the outward forms of

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. vi., pp. 191, 207.
[2] S. Butler's *Characters*; A Bumpkin or Country Squire.
[3] Sir T. Overbury's *Characters*.

feudalism—which had become simply onerous, though its logical defences had long since crumbled away—were removed by legislation. Such prerogatives as those of purveyance and pre-emption of wardship, and of the summons to take a knighthood or pay a fine, had been exercised by James I. and Charles I. in such a manner as to create in the minds of those who would have been their natural supporters a strong feeling of resentment. Charles II. was wiser in his generation. He allowed these prerogatives to be abolished in lieu of an annual sum of 100,000*l.*, to be secured upon the Excise, and all military tenures were turned into that of common socage. There were, indeed, some Tories who disapproved of the reform, such as Lord Guilford, who thought it a 'desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England'; [1] but it was a boon for which the country gentleman had good reason to be grateful, because the whole nation had to pay for what was a benefit conferred upon a class. Custom, natural inclination, and policy all combined, therefore, to make the landed gentry the zealous supporters of the restored monarchy and constitution.

That the clergy and laity of the Established Church were as a body strongly attached to the old constitution is almost too obvious a fact to require any illustration. But to the rural clergy, in particular, some reference may without irrelevance be made. Steeped, for the most part, in the temper of the old universities, living in seclusion in their country parsonages, and far from those opportunities for intercourse and conversation enjoyed by the townsmen, they were, if anything, more fiercely Tory than the squires. But whatever may be thought of the character and attainments of the clergy who at this time filled the country parsonages, there can be no question of their political importance, arising from their numbers, their influence, and, above all, the strength of the unquestioning conviction with which they clung to the tenets of the Church. The natural inclination of Churchmen to conservatism was in their case sharpened by isolation, ignorance, and prejudice.

A third class, which formed a considerable source of Toryism was that of the lawyers. That they were not by any means

[1] *The Lives of the Norths: Life of Francis North*, Jessop's edition, vol. i. 317.

entirely Royalist in their sympathies is fairly clear; and Clarendon himself lamented that 'the professors of that great and admirable mystery the law' were not wholly on his side. When Lord Keeper Guilford was rising into fame at the Bar and was arguing a case of privilege against the House of Commons, the Duke of York inquired who he was, and was informed that he was 'what was rare among lawyers at that time, of loyal principles.'[1] Yet, generally speaking, the legal profession leans by natural inclination to the support of the Government *de facto*. Lord Guilford himself observed that 'a man could not be a good lawyer and honest but he must be a prerogative man'; and his brother Roger North was of the same opinion, saying 'that a man cannot be an honest learned lawyer but must be in the popular sense a prerogative man, and in every sense a hater of what they called a republic.'[2] Lord Halifax expressed himself in even stronger terms, warning electors against choosing lawyers for their parliamentary representatives, because they 'almost always all had narrow minds, and by the whole scope of their studies found themselves pressed to adhere to the King and his prerogative.'[3] Though there were some brilliant examples to the contrary, yet it will be seen hereafter that Lord Halifax had only too much reason for his unfavourable strictures, and that the lawyers only too often lent themselves to be the ready tools of arbitrary power. It is in the persons of the time-serving judges and law officers of the reigns of Charles II. and his successor that Toryism has worn its most unlovely aspect.

The Toryism of the rank and file of the profession arose less from hopes of advancement than from birth and bringing up, for it seems to have been part of the regular education of a gentleman to study law. The lawyers were drawn mainly from the families of the country gentry, and carried with them the political prejudices of the atmosphere in which they had been bred. If to this bias be added the intellectual temper that comes from the lawyers' love of precedent, it becomes no matter for wonder-

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 443; *The English Historical Review*, January 1904, article on Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* by C. H. Firth.

[2] The *Lives of the Norths*; North's *Examen*, part xiii.

[3] Halifax's *Some Cautions Offered* &c.

ment that the Inns of Court were a nursery of Toryism. Of the fact many illustrations will appear.

There was something, however, beyond and behind the squires, the clergy, and the Bar; for the great fountain-head of Toryism was to be found in those 'two eyes of the country,' the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They may be likened to great fertilising streams from which rivulets are drawn in all directions to irrigate the land, and they have constantly from age to age left a vivid impress of their intellectual impulses upon the public opinion of the nation. As the brain of the country they formerly occupied a relatively more important position than they do to-day, when educational opportunities are more extensively diffused. They may be said, in a sense, to have represented England in miniature; for they manifested those two antagonistic tendencies which have always been visible in the English nature, exhibiting, on the one hand, the disposition to live by rule and precedent and to rely upon experience, and, on the other, an eager restlessness, a love of novelty, and a desire to press forward to new conquests and discoveries. Whether it was because discipline and subordination, and the reverence paid to rank and order, find a congenial soil in educational institutions, or whether because both universities were in every fibre ecclesiastical establishments, it is certain that the disposition to conservatism both in Oxford and Cambridge prevailed over the contrary tendency. Of the two, Cambridge was the more open to new impulses and the dawning light of fresh illumination. It was on the banks of the Isis and the Cherwell that Toryism in the seventeenth century blossomed in the most riotous prodigality. It was not, indeed, always so. Though Hobbes, writing of a time a hundred years before, says that the 'power of the Pope was always upheld against the power of the Commonwealth, principally by the Universities,' yet the voice of liberty and Protestantism was heard even among the towers and spires of Oxford.[1] When Queen Elizabeth visited the university in 1566 she was entertained by listening to disputations in the schools, and no scruples were felt about arguing such questions as the right of subjects to rebel, or whether God himself might instigate a regicide;

[1] Hobbes's *Leviathan*; *Hobbes*, by Professor Robertson, p. 7.

nor did she express displeasure on hearing the expression of some strongly worded Puritan positions. Laud himself was taken to task in a sermon preached at Oxford by Archbishop Abbot, who styled him a 'mongrel compound of Papist and Protestant.' However, both James I. and Charles I. found Oxford as fervently loyal as they could wish. Almost instinctively, as it were, on the outbreak of the Civil War, the King fled to Oxford, in the hope of finding himself among the loyalest of his friends. Nor was he disappointed. For this fidelity the university paid the cost. Deep was the humiliation that she suffered after the Royalist party was defeated. Her most cherished sentiments and ideals were set at nought.

To the Toryism of the two universities much, of course, was contributed by the intellectual atmosphere created by the character of the studies most in vogue. Both still languished in the ghetto of scholasticism, though Cambridge was the more liberal of the two. Yet it was his own teaching at Cambridge that Milton described as 'an asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles.'[1] Upon Oxford and her reverence for the authority of Aristotle Hobbes was scarcely less severe. 'Since,' he says, 'the authority of Aristotle is only current there, that study is not properly philosophy, but Aristotelity.' 'Scarce anything,' he adds in a tone of fine contempt, 'can be more absurdly said in natural philosophy than that which is called Aristotle's Metaphysics, nor more repugnant to government than much of that he hath said in his Politics, nor more ignorantly than a great part of the Ethics.'[2] The descendants of the Schoolmen, with their arid disputations and endless paradoxes, found a shelter where the grey towers of Oxford still whispered the enchantments of the Middle Age. There, amid the echoes of ancient wisdom and the shadows of ancient beauty, the Queen of Romance, as it were, waged war against the Philistines. Nevertheless at both universities men were breaking out from their intellectual bondage. Even in the reign of Elizabeth the keener intellects at Oxford, though looked at with suspicion by the orthodox, were beginning to be drawn into the stream of modern scientific thought, and it is to the eternal honour of

[1] Tulloch's *Rational Theology*, vol. ii. p. 7.
[2] Professor Robertson's *Hobbes*, p. 34.

this university that it was there that the seeds of the Royal Society were planted. The public opinion also of the nation looked, it is evident, upon these adventures of the scientific mind with some suspicion. Mathematics, so it was thought, were the artifices of the devil; and when in 1619 the Savilian professorships of geometry and astronomy were established, some of the gentry kept their sons away from the university in order that they should not be 'smutted with the black art.' It fills the inquirer with astonishment to find Hobbes remarking that Oxford men had in his time just given over thinking that mathematics were an 'art diabolical.' Yet in the face of all obstacles scientific study made advances. Burnet, who visited Oxford shortly after the Restoration, found there 'chiefly the study of the oriental tongues,' and that 'mathematics and the new philosophy were in great esteem.' If Oxford was distinguished for the 'new' or 'experimental' philosophy, Cambridge was illustrious in another field of thought. Not that she was indifferent to the discoveries of science. Burnet, indeed, when he visited her, found that the new philosophy was 'much in all people's discourse and the Royal Society was much talked of.'[1] Joseph Glanvill went even further, blaming Oxford for its worship of Aristotle and for 'making a sacramental adherence to an heathen authority,' and lamenting that he had not been sent to Cambridge, 'because the new philosophy and the art of philosophizing' were more studied there than at the sister university, where he had been trained in 'the trite and beaten road.'[2] So too Roger North says that, as a Cambridge student, he followed his 'own appetite, which was to natural philosophy, which they call physics, and particularly Descartes'; but he significantly adds that 'at that time new philosophy was a sort of heresy,' though there was an inclination of the 'brisk part of the university' towards it.[3] It was, however, as the school of the New Platonists or of the Latitudinarians that Cambridge at this time made her influence most distinctly felt on the course of English history; and as some followers of the experimental philosophy belonged to the Latitudinarian group as well it is probable that the two were not very carefully distinguished.

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 350.
[2] Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. i. [3] Roger North's *Autobiography*.

But though both Oxford and Cambridge were in their different ways notable for their thinkers, yet these distinguished men formed but a small minority. For just as the rays of the morning gild the mountain-tops before they dispel the shadows of darkness from the valleys, so does the progress of the intellect take time to reach the minds of ordinary men. It is probable, therefore, that the rank and file of the universities were but little affected at the moment by the new movements in philosophy. Then, as now, they were accused of 'organized torpor.' Those who had been nourished upon Aristotle turned with aversion from what they thought to be the 'many petty new-fangled and fantastical hypotheses' of the scientist. This at any rate may be asserted of both universities, and most emphatically of Oxford, that they shewed after the Restoration strong Tory inclinations. At both, says Burnet—and in spite of his Whig bias he was here almost certainly right—the youth of England learned 'to love arbitrary government and to become slaves to absolute monarchy.' Nor did he in any way exaggerate in saying that Oxford asserted 'the King's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible,' and that she laid down 'a set of such high-flown maxims as must establish an uncontrollable tyranny.' [1]

Such, very briefly, were the classes of community from which Toryism drew the most considerable portion of its strength. Its living spirit and the texture of its being can perhaps be most vividly realised by forming some conception of the intellectual atmosphere or climate in which it grew up.

What, then, was the state of knowledge and what were the modes of thought prevalent at this time in Europe, and particularly in England? It will be seen that the early history of Toryism throws a flood of illumination upon the winding path of human progress as it leads from the darkness of the past to the fuller light of day.

Of all historical generalisations one of the most brilliant is Comte's 'Law of the Three States.' The human mind, he said, in its course of evolution advances through three states. The first is the theological state, in which phenomena are explained by supernatural and arbitrary causes and by supposing

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 154.

the will of God to be constantly and actively at work. Theology in this sense may be said to be synonymous with an anthropomorphic conception of God in the region of causation. Passing onwards, the mind endeavours to explain phenomena by such metaphysical ideas or entities as 'ether' in physics, 'vital principle' in physiology, and 'soul' in psychology. Nature, in this state of thought, was imagined to possess personal attributes; she was, to use the words of Boyle, a 'semi-deity, or other strange kind of being.' The metaphysical state may be described as the theological one in a pale and vanishing form. In the last state the mind, pushing rationalism to its ultimate limits, becomes positive or scientific. The latter half of the seventeenth century was pre-eminently a time in which the theological state of mind was, in varying degrees and in different directions, giving way slowly to the metaphysical and still more slowly to the scientific. The idea of the reign of law in the physical world of phenomena was still alien to the mind, and much more was this the case in the invisible world of the sciences dealing with man in all his relations. In history, in politics, in morals and in religion, the hand of God was deemed to be most plainly visible. Looked at in this way, calamities were easily explained as punishments from Heaven; and the Civil War was, in fact, so explained by Clarendon. It proceeded, he thought, from causes 'which have usually attended kingdoms, swollen with long plenty, pride and excess, towards some signal mortifications and castigation of heaven.' [1] If men expected some 'remarkable judgement of God to come down upon them' after the execution of Charles I., the restoration of his son was thought by many to be miraculous. Such events as the Great Fire and the Plague in 1666 were, it was thought, plainly not accidental, but intended by a wise and chastening Providence. The origin of the Plague, indeed, whether it was to be ascribed to natural or supernatural causes, was a matter of considerable debate; so much so that Robert Boyle, in spite of his scientific temper, was forced to have resort to a kind of intellectual compromise, by declaring that neither of the contentions was altogether in the right. As to the Fire, there was apparently less doubt; and it was quite in accordance with the spirit of

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Books i. and v.

the time that the Speaker told the House of Commons that 'we must forever with humility acknowledge the justice of God in punishing the whole nation by the late dreadful conflagration of London'; [1] and that Archbishop Sancroft told his congregation that there was something more dangerous to the nation than the malice of the foreigners, who were popularly supposed to have caused the Fire. 'And, therefore,' so ran his exhortation, 'dream no longer of grenados or fireballs, or the rest of those witty mischiefs. Search no more for *bout-feus* or incendiaries . . . . for we have made God our enemy too.' [2] It was in consequence of the Plague that a penitential House of Commons debated a Bill for the suppression of atheism and profanity. In like manner just as men saw in disasters the just penalties of sin, so also they saw in exceptional phenomena divine indications or warnings of calamities to come. Thus Evelyn remarks that comets 'may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of His animadversions'; and Pepys that the appearance of a meteor in 1668 caused apprehensions 'of the rest of the city to be burned, and the Papists to cut our throats.' [3] The comets of 1664 and 1665 caused much alarm, and were afterwards regarded as indications of the wrath of God which at that time descended on the nation. It was quite a natural consequence of the intellectual state thus briefly outlined that men should have approached the consideration of politics and of all questions of the temporal action of the State with minds coloured with theological prepossessions. It was not so much that the State was looked at as a Theocracy in which God Himself was King and Law-giver; or that it was thought that God had appointed for the Church the most perfect form of government upon which the State was modelled; nor, again, was it so much that, as will be seen hereafter, there was a widely spread belief in the divinity of kings; it was rather that it was tacitly assumed that the State had a religious function to perform. If there was one sphere of conduct and action in which it was generally felt that the government might rightly interfere, it was in that of religious profession and observance. There

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 358.
[2] D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. ii. p. 372.
[3] Evelyn's *Diary* and Pepys's *Diary*.

at least there should be no room for any doctrine of *laissez faire, laissez aller.*

This theological view of politics—which may be said to have reached its zenith in the time of the Crusades—still exerted considerable influence in England throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That it was a primary duty of the State to see that its subjects not only held right religious opinions but acted in accordance with them, hardly anybody questioned. In the year 1667 Bills were brought into the House of Lords to make atheism and profanity offences. In 1666 a Bill passed the House of Commons with a similar object, and a Committee was appointed to report to the House upon such books as were for this reason of an objectionable character. The philosopher Hobbes was so alarmed by this decision that he wrote his 'Historical Narration of Heresy' in order to vindicate himself, on account of the views he had expressed in his 'Leviathan.' When it is remembered that heretics were still liable to be burned, his timidity, which at first sight appears excessive, perhaps may be excused.

There were two modes in which the State was able to exert its authority in religion in a very definite manner, and it did not fail to use them. The first was that of directing the manner of Sunday observance. The duty of observing Sunday—or the Sabbath or the Lord's Day, as some preferred to call it—was, in England, so generally recognised that the State was regarded as the proper agent to enforce it. Here the House of Commons found a topic which was perfectly congenial. When one Shepherd, a Member of the House, argued in an anti-Puritan vein against the keeping of the Sabbath, which he said was the Jewish Saturday, he aroused such resentment that he was immediately expelled. It was in vain that he appealed to the 'Book of Sports' and to King David's exhortation to praise God in a dance. The commands of the State, moreover, did not merely extend to Church attendance and to abstinence from work, but to the kinds of games and amusements in which persons could lawfully indulge. At the Restoration the matter was immediately taken into consideration by the House of Commons, and was evidently thought to be of serious concern. For Sir Walter Erle, who took part in the debate, said that he knew a man

who in a former Parliament had fallen down dead in the House when a Bill for Sunday observance was being discussed, 'he giving his voice first for it and afterwards against it.' And in 1663 the Speaker addressed the King in the following terms at the prorogation: 'We have, therefore, in the first place, perused the laws which do enjoin the observation of the Lord's Day, and where we found any defect, either in rules or penalties, we have with great care supplied them, well knowing that he who doth not remember on the first day of the week to observe a Christian Sabbath, will hazard before the week comes round to forget he is a Christian.'[1] It is a remarkable fact that one of the most memorable legislative achievements of the reign of Charles II.—a reign which has become a byword for licentiousness—should have been the Act, which is still in force, regulating Sunday trading. No more forcible illustration could be found of the view then taken of the religious duties of the State than that an Act of this kind should have been passed at a time when the obligations of religion were ostentatiously derided by an important section of society. Nor could any better proof be found that Puritanism had impressed a permanent influence on the nation.

The second way in which the hand of the State contrived to make its interference felt was that of the appointment of fast-days. These were of two kinds: first, those which were fixed and permanent, and, secondly, those which were directed on occasions of emergency. As in the case of Sunday observance, so in that of fasts, the State hastened to show itself to be the zealous guardian of religion. A proclamation was forthwith issued, says Pepys, 'for restraint of killing, dressing and eating of flesh in Lent or on Fish-days appointed by the law to be observed'; and he adds that it was questioned 'whether Lent shall be kept with the strictness of the King's proclamation, which it is thought cannot be, because of the poor who cannot buy fish.'[2] When we read that the Fishmongers' Company petitioned the King that he would direct the keeping of Lent, because they had a large supply of fish, it is impossible to refrain from a suspicion that religious zeal was but a secondary motive

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. pp. 142, 286.
[2] Pepys's *Diary*.

in the action of the State.[1] That theological elements entered into the conception of the State seems clear enough. But that is not all. The theological medium through which everything was looked at, and by which in consequence the mental vision was more or less distorted, is strikingly recalled by the constant appeals which were made to Scriptural authority. The sanction of Scripture was sought not merely for speculative theories, but for conduct and action, both in affairs of private and individual concern, and in those in the wider sphere of administration and legislation by the State. It need scarcely be added that such sanction, if sought, was almost invariably found. The old Latin couplet on the Bible contains no more than a simple statement of the truth :

> Hic Liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque,
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

There is abundant illustration of the fact that the seeking of the sanction of religion—delivered in the form of textual quotation—was a constant element in the forming of judgment and opinion. It must be enough to note in passing that whereas the Puritans and their Whig successors found in the Old Testament their chief armoury of *dicta*, the Tories found theirs mainly in the New. It may be doubted whether this indiscriminate appeal to Scriptural authority, though well-intentioned, did not injure the cause which it was intended to promote. 'After the Bible was translated in English,' says Hobbes, 'every man, nay, every boy and woman, thought they spoke with God Almighty and understood what He said, when by a certain number of chapters a day they had read the Scriptures once or twice over.'[2] The Duke of Newcastle was also one of those who thought that reading of the Bible in English had done an immense amount of harm.[3]

That the conditions of knowledge and of opinion, public and private, were at this period of English history in what has been called the theological state seems very clear. The tendency

[1] *An English Garner*, 'Social England Illustrated,' *A brief note of the benefits that grow to this realm by the observation of fish days.*

[2] Hobbes's *Behemoth.*

[3] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

to look for explanations and to seek causes, not in natural laws, but in the direct action of the Almighty was still so strong that it was hard to overcome. Men preferred to rest satisfied with vague and inconclusive reasonings rather than to follow logic to its inexorable ends. The intellectual atmosphere was still, to a considerable extent, what may be described as mystical or anti-rationalist, and therefore favourable to the development of the mystical or anti-rational temperament. From the facts thus briefly outlined it will, it is hoped, be possible for the reader to form some conception of the kind of intellectual environment in which Toryism grew. It remains to be considered how far and in what ways it helped or impeded the tendencies out of which that environment was formed; whether it was obscurantist, on the one hand, or assisted the march of mind upon the other. This object, perhaps, can best be attained by first of all inquiring into the actual state of knowledge in its various departments, and by asking what was the attitude which the Tories adopted in their relations towards it. It will probably make for clearness for the purpose now in hand to divide the wide domain of knowledge into two sections—namely, that of natural science, and that of the humanities. The former, which in connection with our present subject is perhaps the more important, demands the first consideration.

When Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors the advance of science in England had reached a very interesting stage; for after a protracted struggle to escape from the bonds of medievalism it was just beginning to emerge through the metaphysical into the positive stage. The theological tendency to trace cause and effect to divine interposition was still potent in its influence, but its power was gradually on the wane. The revolt from the barren domination of the scholastic philosophy had already begun. The prophecy of the text, 'Men shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased,' was already in a measure beginning to be fulfilled. They were the words on which Bacon built his hopes for the future of science, and it soon appeared that he was justified in his belief. For one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Restoration period in English history was the advances made in science and the interest in it that was awakened, not only among the

learned, but even in quarters where such a thing was least to be expected.

The boundaries of scientific knowledge were, indeed, at this time still vague and undefined. There was no sharp line of demarcation between science and superstition. While the alchemist was confused with the chemist, the astrologer was in like manner mistaken for the astronomer. For throughout antiquity—and, indeed, until almost modern times—the idea of unalterable laws of nature was abhorrent to men's minds and regarded as inconsistent with divine omnipotence. The state of astronomical knowledge may be inferred from the fact that, as we have seen, Dryden and even Milton had not entirely shaken themselves free from the trammels of the old Ptolemaic system, and that Shaftesbury seems to have entertained the notion that in the future state men's souls go into the stars and animate them.

There was, indeed, as yet but little restraint upon the vagaries of the mind—upon what Bacon has so well called the *intellectus sibi permissus*. Dryden, for instance, speaks of the reality of guardian angels as a 'universally received doctrine.'[1] The quest of the philosopher's stone still allured men from more fruitful paths; and in 1680 there was published an account of how one Wenceslaus Seileus, at Vienna, had actually become possessed of it. It was, again, said of the Duke of Buckingham, that he imagined for some years that 'he was very near the finding the philosopher's stone, which had the effect that attends on all such men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it.'[2] So too, as we know from Evelyn's 'Diary,' even an eminent chemist could look on the *Elixir Vitae* as something quite attainable. A Dutch chemist, one Dr. Becker, actually undertook to transmute sand into gold; and some Dutch officials thought the process to be a perfectly feasible one. The belief in sympathetic magic prevailed widely, and the practice of magic was one of the many charges that were brought against the Quakers.

Yet, these superstitions notwithstanding, it is not too much to say that the Restoration period was marked by a genuine

[1] Dryden's *Essays*, edited by W. P. Ker, vol. ii. Discourse on Satire.

[2] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vii.: 'Magnalia Naturae.'

[3] Lady Burghclere's *Life of the Duke of Buckingham*, p. 260.

advance in the scientific temper. It was true, indeed, that scientific discovery had to contend against a solid mass of prejudice. It was useless, for instance, for Harvey to demonstrate the fact of the circulation of the blood; a thing so contrary to commonsense no one, of course, could be expected to believe.[1] The 'mere crotchets of Mr. Newton'—that was all the Astronomer Royal had to say of the 'Principia.' The age, in other respects so little creditable, nevertheless in the matter of scientific research was worthy of all praise. It was, to use the quaint phrase of Henry Stubbe, a 'Bacon-faced generation'; it entered on the inheritance of which the great Chancellor, as from a Pisgah-height, was permitted only to obtain a distant view. Where he led the way, the men of the seventeenth century followed. The early part of the reign of Charles II. was marked by two scientific works of much importance. The first was the publication of Glanvill's epoch-making book, the 'Vanity of Dogmatising.' Though attracting but little popular notice at the time, it was, owing to its bold advocacy of the inductive and experimental method, a remarkable incident in the history of English scientific thought. In a letter to the Duchess of Newcastle the author sets out his position very clearly. 'There are,' he says, 'two sorts of reasoning: those that the mind advanceth from its inward store, such as all metaphysical contemplations, and those natural researches which are raised from experiment and the objects of sense.'[2] It was, he adds, the second of the two modes that he and those who agreed with him had adopted. The second was the foundation of the Royal Society. This famous institution, which Bacon had foreshadowed as Solomon's House or the College of the Six Days' Works in his vision of the 'New Atlantis,' arose from very humble beginnings. The idea probably occurred independently to several minds; but Evelyn may take the credit of suggesting a kind of retreat for scientific thinkers. London and Oxford may divide between them the glory of the Society's parentage. About the year 1645 a select band of eager spirits agreed to meet

[1] Professor Osler's Harveian Oration, 1906: *The Growth of Truth as illustrated in the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood.*

[2] *The Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle; Introduction by C. H. Firth, p. xxxv.

together for discussions upon the 'new or experimental philosophy.' The 'Invisible College,' as it was called, used to assemble sometimes at the house of Dr. Goddard, or at the Boar's Head tavern in Cheapside, or at Gresham College. Its most distinguished member, John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, having been chosen Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and finding in the university some scientific thinkers of a kindred spirit with his own, brought them together in his lodgings, and formed 'The Philosophical Society of Oxford,' at the same time keeping up a correspondence with his former friends in London.[1]

At the Restoration some of the Oxford members of the society, losing their University appointments under the new order of affairs, returned to London, and the two groups at London and Oxford were re-united, the old meetings being resumed at Gresham College. The idea of a purely scientific institution was warmly taken up, and Cowley the poet, among others, helped to sketch its constitution. In the result the Royal Society was founded and received a Royal Charter. 'The King,' says Evelyn, who was one of the members of the original Council, 'gave us the armes of England to be borne in a canton in our armes, and sent us a mace of silver gilt of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before His Majesty, to be borne before our President on meeting daies.' And Pepys tells us that he saw the King's own sign manual to the Charter.[2]

That the Royal Society was no mere club of *dilettanti* is very clear. From the first it contained some illustrious names, and of course it met with some amount of opposition. It was argued that scientific pursuits would make men disputatious, tend to make them romantic, presumptuous and obstinate, take up too much of their time, withdraw them from their business, and cause them to neglect the claims of the present for the alluring study of the past. It was alleged that the Society would cause contempt to be poured upon classical studies, for even then the feud was hot between the lovers of the old learning and the new. Of the former, one of the keenest protagonists was Henry Stubbe,

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1906, article on 'An Oxford Trimmer, by the Warden of Wadham.

[2] Evelyn's *Diary*; Pepys's *Diary*.

whom Anthony à Wood described as 'the most noted person of his age that these later times have produced.' It needs scarcely be added that fears were expressed lest this novel intellectual liberty would sap the foundations of religion. The possibility that Doubt might enter through the window when Inquiry was denied at the door does not seem to have occurred to the minds of these very timid persons. Add to this that some persons scented a deeply-laid design to divert the people from intermeddling in political affairs, and that others imagined that they saw a Jesuit secret society for smuggling in Popery, and it will be seen that the new institution was, to say the least of it, not popular. When serious objections failed, the shafts of ridicule were hurled. Samuel Butler, for example, was not slow to take advantage of any opportunity that offered; and when the story got about that Sir Paul Neale had mistaken a mouse which had got in his telescope for an elephant in the moon, the satirist found a topic well fitted for his own peculiar genius. And when Dr. Charlton was reported to have been feeling a dog's pulse at Gresham College, Butler turned the occasion to account by writing a skit which Swift afterwards is said to have made his model for his 'Meditations on a Broom Stick.' Even Hobbes could not refrain from poking fun at the experiments of the 'mechanics.' But these assaults of the witty and objections of the grave in no way interfered with the work of the society—which in fact was much needed to dispel the gross illusions of the time. It was a great advantage that an institution should exist to which an appeal could be made for a decision upon disputes over the facts of phenomena or over doubtful hypotheses or theories; as, for instance, when Boyle in 1666 submitted the case of the divining rod; or when in 1698 a statement of some astrologers that the days were much longer than usual for the time of the year was examined. Meanwhile, advances in scientific discovery, and still more in the provision of appliances, went steadily on throughout the last half of the seventeenth century.

The love of experimental science spread in the most extraordinary manner throughout all orders of society, and if the efforts of the amateur failed to achieve any tangible results, the intelligent interest awakened was at any rate a gain. It clarified

the mind; it shifted the intellectual point of view; it changed the general outlook upon the universe and upon man in his relations to it. Chemistry especially, it is no exaggeration to say, became a fashionable pastime. The King led the way. He took a great interest in the proceedings of the Royal Society, and, says Bishop Sprat, 'assisted with his own hands at the performing of many of their experiments, in his garden, his parks and on the river. . . . The noise of mechanical instruments is heard in Whitehall itself. . . . . The King has under his own roof found place for chymical operations.'[1] Evelyn says of him that 'he had a laboratory, and knew of many empirical medicines and the easier mechanical mathematics'; and he relates that he once accompanied the King to visit Monsieur Febure, 'his chymist,' who made 'a learned discourse before His Majesty in French.'[2] The sight of the royal voluptuary engaged with his crucibles and retorts must have been indeed a curious one. The hobby was not without its uses even in the grave affairs of State; for when Charles was in correspondence with Louis XIV. about his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, he desired to have a conference with a theologian who should have some reputation as a chemist, in order that the nature of the talk should be concealed beneath the guise of a discussion upon a scientific topic. The Abbé Pregnani was the person selected by the French monarch, and, while pretending to talk chemistry, he dilated on theology and politics. But Charles's love of science was not confined to chemistry. He ordered the Royal Society to execute for him a representation of the moon in a solid globe, and drawings to be made of microbes revealed beneath the microscope. In naval architecture and navigation his knowledge was more than that of an interested amateur, and he established by Royal Warrant a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital for forty boys, in order to fit them to become apprentices at sea, and to learn the art of seamanship.

Another royal follower of the enchantments of science was Prince Rupert. 'His genius,' says Count Grammont, 'was fertile in mathematical experiments, and he possessed some knowledge of chemistry.' It is, indeed, only fair to state that

[1] Sprat's *History of the Royal Society.* [2] Evelyn's *Diary.*

the Prince did in fact pursue his studies to some purpose. For though he was not free from some of the delusions of his time—as, for instance, when he says that he had obtained some pure water capable of dissolving gold—he made some improvements in the manufacture of gunpowder and firearms. His name, too, is imperishably associated with 'Rupert's Drops' and 'Prince's metal.' Art, moreover, is his debtor; for it was he who showed Evelyn the secret of mezzotint engraving, which the latter described in his treatise on chalcography. 'This,' he says, 'set so many artists on work, that they soon arrived to that perfection it is since come to, emulating the tenderest miniatures.' Nor should it be forgotten that the Prince evinced his interest in geographical discovery by helping to fit out an expedition to look for the supposed North-West Passage.[1] The votaries of science were to be found among the peers, the judges, and the bishops. The Duke of Newcastle, for instance, corresponded with Descartes and Gassendi, and he is said to have delighted Hobbes with his argument showing that it was impossible for man to fly by artificial means. The Duchess was even more enthusiastic; she wrote a treatise entitled 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions,' and delighted Bishop Wilkins with her animated talk. A Preface (attributed to Hobbes) to this quite useless composition of the Duchess contains a remark that is illustrative of the sceptical temper of the time: 'Since it is now *à la mode* to write of natural philosophy, and I know nobody knows what is the cause of anything, and since they are all but guesses, not knowing, it gives every man room to think what he lists.'[2] It is of this lady that Pepys amusingly relates how she attended a meeting of the Royal Society to witness some experiments. Her dress was, he says, 'so antique and her deportment so ordinary' that he feared that she would make the Society ridiculous. Then there was the Duke of Buckingham, immortalised as one who simultaneously was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon. He had in his youth occupied some of the lagging hours of exile in making chemical experiments with

[1] *Memoirs of Count Grammont*; Evelyn's *Diary*; The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report xi., part v.: The Papers of the Earl of Dartmouth; and Report xii., parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of S. Hale Fleming.

[2] *The Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, by the Duchess of Newcastle.

Charles II. Returning home, he built a laboratory for himself at his residence at York House, and when he was subsequently imprisoned for a brief period in the Tower, he was allowed to pursue his hobby even within these gloomy precincts. And though he lost himself in the vain perplexities of astrology and alchemy, he at all events did one thing that was practically useful. Taking out a patent for making glass, he established a factory at Lambeth, and imported some Venetian craftsmen to found a new industry. It is evident that he must have achieved no small measure of success; for Evelyn, who visited the works, says that 'they made huge vases of metal as clear, ponderous and thick as crystal; also looking-glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.'[1] Among the judges with scientific hobbies were Lord Guilford, who interested himself in the bladders of fishes, and Sir Matthew Hale, who collected scientific instruments and wrote pamphlets on the Toricellian experiment and the rarefaction and condensation of gases.[2] The bishops of a scientific bent were more distinguished. Wilkins has already been referred to, and it needs only be added that no more fertile and ingenious brain existed in his day. He even tried to formulate a scheme of a universal language, thus anticipating some similar attempts of recent date. Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, did much to advance the study of astronomy at Oxford; Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a history of the Royal Society, and he wrote it so well that Dr. Johnson long afterwards observed that it was read 'not with the wish to know what they were then doing, but how their transactions were exhibited by Sprat.' He was perhaps, too, the first to suggest the creation of an English Academy of Literature. Even the bustling and energetic Burnet, when he found it advisable to retire awhile from public life, took to making chemical experiments.

No one, indeed, seems to have more thoroughly grasped the real importance of the new methods of induction than Evelyn. 'Seeke therefore after nature . . . procure to see experiments,' he exhorts one of his correspondents.[3] That sentence

[1] Lady Burghclere's *Life of the Duke of Buckingham*; Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] Burnet's *Life of Sir M. Hale*; supplement to Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, edited by C. H. Foxcroft, p. 489. [3] Evelyn's letter to Maddox, 1657.

contains the whole gist of the new philosophy. The passion for experimental chemistry, indeed, had spread so far that Evelyn's advice was scarcely needed; for he records the sudden illness and death of his servant Hoare, caused, he supposes, 'by tampering with mercury about an experiment in gold.'[1] No one more strenuously asserted the new methods or more stoutly defended those who professed them against the attacks of their assailants. Writing to Glanvill, he referred to his opponent Henry Stubbe as 'your snarling adversary,' and he placed the spirit of opposition to the Royal Society among the machinations of the Devil, 'who was ever an enemy to truth.'[2] This is an intellectual temper which marks a great advance from the time when men of science were popularly supposed to be either atheists or magicians, as was the fate of Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon.

The importance of the change in intellectual environment which has been noted needs only to be pointed out to be generally admitted. What then, it will be pertinently asked, was the attitude of the Tories towards it? Had they any share in its production, or did they obstruct and retard it?

It has already been suggested that whereas the Whig mind was rationalist in temper, the Tory, on the other hand, tended rather to be mystical and to incline to the Oriental type. Yet it is apparent to anyone who considers the scientific movement of the seventeenth century, of which a brief account has been given, that the Tories were to a large extent its leaders. It is not too much to say that the Royal Society was in its inception a thoroughly Tory institution. The King was its patron; it counted Dryden, Evelyn, and Pepys among its Fellows; some of the greatest adherents of the new learning were ordained clergymen of the Church of England—an ecclesiastical institution which was Tory to the core. In all these facts there appears to be something paradoxical. In so far as a conflict exists between what may be called respectively the theological and scientific conceptions of the universe, it might have been expected that ecclesiastics, at any rate, would not have cordially accepted the idea of natural law. For though the clergy, as a rule, are not more lacking than any other class of persons in the positive

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] Disraeli's *Quarrels of Authors*.

love of truth, they are more dominated by the fear of the possibility of error. Yet in England at the period now under consideration the reverse was actually the case. So startling a fact challenges explanation.

That the right of private judgement and inquiry claimed and extorted at the Reformation, though limited at first to the sphere of theology, by a gradual process of expansion metamorphosed the entire field of thought is unquestionable. It made the untrammelled search for natural laws, if not for the first time possible, at all events much easier. For, strange though it may appear, science had been placed in the same category as witchcraft, and banned as impious. To assert a natural law was, so it was thought, to represent something as acting independently of a divine and supernatural will. At the Reformation a movement began that soon made the idea of natural law familiar. That was a great event in the history of mankind, if we are to agree with John Stuart Mill in thinking that the paramount element in progress lies in 'the state of the speculative faculties, including the nature of the beliefs, which by any means they have arrived at, concerning themselves and the world by which they are surrounded.'[1] That statement, indeed, can only be taken with some reserve; but it does at all events present a considerable element of truth. Now, of the right of private judgement and inquiry the Puritans, as carrying out more fully than their opponents the principles of the Reformation, may justly claim to have been in a special degree the guardians. It is they who the more strongly felt with Socrates that a life without inquiry was not worthy to be lived. 'Give me,' says Milton, 'liberty to know, to utter, and argue freely according to my conscience, above all liberties.' The demand breathes the very spirit of the Reformation.

Yet, when the facts come to be examined, the Tories will be found to have contributed more to the science of natural phenomena than their Whig and Puritan opponents. This apparent paradox perhaps may be explained by the perversities of human nature. For, as Hobbes observed, the axioms of mathematics are only universally admitted because there is no one interested in proving them to be false. When, however,

[1] *System of Logic*, part vi., ch. 10.

the region of the humanities is entered, when questions arise over such topics as politics, ethics, and theology, then the passions are aroused and the attainment of truth becomes difficult, if not impossible.

That the Puritans as a whole were not favourable to learning will hardly be disputed. Too intense in their feelings and too narrow in their sympathies, they suffered from the defects of their qualities. The statement of Macaulay about the Cavaliers, that 'they had more of profound and polite learning than the Puritans,' is substantially correct, and seems to bear out the views of Renan that civilisation is the work of aristocracies. Certain it is that there is some evidence to show that the Puritans, if they did not incur the Gospel curse upon the lawyers who took away the keys of knowledge, were at all events averse from culture. The 'star of reason and learning,' to use Hooker's words, became under their domination like the star wormwood which fell from heaven and made the waters bitter. Though Cromwell, it is true, tried to establish a university at Durham, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were during the Commonwealth period in actual danger of destruction. The 'Barebones' or 'Little' Parliament of 1653, says Clarendon, assailed 'all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown,' and resolved 'that all lands belonging to the Universities and Colleges in those Universities might be sold and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions.'[1] It is said that it was only by the exertions of the City of London that the catastrophe was averted. That the Sectarians would, many of them, have made short work of the Universities there can, indeed, be little doubt. Evelyn, for instance, says of Bishop Wilkins, that he 'took great pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious Commanders and Soldiers, who would faine have demolished all places and persons that pretended to learning.' Again, says Butler, in his 'Character of a Fanatic,' 'St. Paul was thought by Festus to be mad with too much learning, but the fanatics of our time are mad with too little.' The dominant faction of the Commonwealth might be compared with the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, who forbad all

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, book x.

intellectual teaching, though the former acted less from policy than ignorance. Just as at the French Revolution the guillotine was reddened by the blood of Lavoisier—for of chemists it was said that the Republic had no need—so in Puritan England the cry was raised of the sufficiency of the teaching of the Spirit. The Puritans, indeed, seem to have entertained the same suspicions against the professors of learning that the Athenians did against the Sophists, as subtle and disingenuous thinkers who were able to make the worse appear the better cause and to entrap the unwary and the simple. It is evident that at the Restoration the educated classes hailed the new era as a dawn breaking after a night of dark and starless skies. Dryden doubtless gave voice to what many cultured people thought when he said that the King at his return 'found a nation lost as much in barbarism as in rebellion'; and, again, it was not merely as a sycophant and courtier that he observed that 'though the fury of a civil war, and power for twenty years together abandoned to a barbarous race of men, enemies of all good learning, had buried the Muses under the ruins of monarchy, yet with the Restoration of our happiness we see revived Poesy lifting up its head, and already shaking off the rubbish which lay so heavy on it.'[1] Puritanism has been justly described as the tyranny of reason. It was, in fact, an iron age, when rationalism was allowed to trample on and crush the sentimental and æsthetic sides of human nature. Such a frame of mind as this placed a bar against the study of some of the most elevating and captivating subjects that can employ the human intellect.

If natural science was drawn into the political maelstrom, what fate could be expected for that other section of inquiry which takes for its sphere man in his religious, political, and ethical relations? Here, indeed, the furnace of prejudice and passion was blown into a red heat. And it is in their relations to this class of studies and speculations that the Tories appeared in their worst and most intolerant aspect. By the heartiest supporters of the monarchy during the Restoration period this liberty was certainly abridged. A dominant party that drove Locke from Oxford, that all but prohibited the printing of

[1] *Dryden's Essays*, edited by W. P. Ker, vol. i.: 'Essays on Dramatic Poetry and on Heroic Plays.'

Paradise Lost, and that put difficulties in the way of the publication of Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* can scarcely claim to have been a liberal one. Except in natural science, the Tories did little to enlarge the sphere of knowledge. They, indeed, were in some respects hardly less suspicious of education than the Puritans. The Duke of Newcastle, for instance, affirmed that there were too many scholars at the universities, the grammar schools and Inns of Court, and that those who have learned to read would disdain to 'carry a musket' or follow the plough or the cart.[1] Books of controversy, too, he thought, should be written in Latin, so that the vulgar could not read them. But it is towards the study of the classics that the Tories assumed their most peculiar attitude. Aristotle, indeed, was, if Hobbes is to be credited, studied at the universities to a ridiculous excess, and Ovid was certainly a fashionable author in cultivated circles; but the Greek and Latin historians were viewed with a good deal of suspicion. Hellas, that 'nebula of whirling Commonwealths,' was an object of abhorrence to the Tory. The Puritans, indeed, on their side, raised objections to classical learning, but of quite another kind. They had scruples about teaching Latin grammar in which the names of pagan gods were mentioned; and if Mrs. Hutchinson put Lucretius into English verse, she afterwards repented of having done a sinful act. The Tories thought the reading of Greek and Latin history to be positively dangerous to the State; and just as it has been said that Plutarch made the French Revolution, so they were inclined to blame the study of the classics for the Rebellion and the Commonwealth. Harmodius and Aristogeiton with 'the sword in myrtles drest,' the Gracchi, the conspirators who plunged their daggers into Caesar's breast—such were the characters in history which quickened the generous aspirations of the young. But upon the supposed evil influence of the Greek and Latin writers there was no one who insisted so strenuously as Hobbes, and from his own point of view he was unquestionably right. 'And as to rebellion in particular against monarchy,' he wrote, 'one of the most frequent causes of it, is the reading of the books of policy, and histories of the ancient

[1] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

Greeks and Romans. . . . . From the reading, I say, of such books men have undertaken to kill their kings because the Greek and Latin writers in their books and discourses of policy, make it lawful and laudable for any man to do so; provided before he do it, he call him tyrant. . . . In sum, I cannot imagine how anything can be more prejudicial to a monarchy, than the allowing of such books to be read, without present applying such correctives of discreet authors, as are fit to take away their venom.'[1] It was a singular irony of fate that among the books which the Oxford Tories ordered to be burned in 1681 were some of the works of Hobbes himself.

Such, in brief outline, was what may be called the intellectual temper of the time during which Toryism began to take a definite shape. To the Tories it may be said that the intellectual environment was by no means uncongenial. Natural science, indeed, was making considerable strides, and for the good work accomplished the Tories themselves may justly claim no small amount of credit. It was, for instance, so typical a Churchman as Robert Boyle who said that he judged of opinions as of coins, not so much considering the inscription as of what metal it was made. Nevertheless, though theological conceptions were gradually relaxing their grip upon the mind, the forces of conservatism had abated little of their strength; nay, rather, the Restoration ushered in a period in which they reached their zenith. For though in the study of natural phenomena there might be dispassionate discussion, it was far otherwise in politics and that large class of questions which may be described as politico-religious. For theology and politics could scarcely at this time be divorced. When inquirers turned their attention from the phenomena of sense to the consideration of these topics their attitude was very different; they forthwith became the slaves of tradition and authority. It happened, however, that such questions as those of the relation of Church and State, and the relations of Church to Dissent, were of supreme interest and importance; and it was precisely in the consideration of them that Toryism, founded on custom and leaning on tradition, averse from rationalism and tinted with the mystical, was able to display most effectively its own peculiar powers.

[1] Hobbes's *Behemoth*: cp. his Introduction to his *Translation of Thucydides*.

We have hitherto attempted to analyse the elements of Toryism, to examine what during the period under consideration were the sources of its strength, what was its intellectual texture, and what the climate of opinion in which it was developed; it remains to proceed, in the light of this inquiry, with the narration of the sequence of events.

The Restoration was at bottom an effort of the nation to consolidate itself and concentrate its powers. The centripetal forces were once more to prevail. All manifestations of energy of this kind, whether intended to amplify the powers of the government or limit the independence of the individual citizen, belong properly to the history of Toryism.

The first step towards rational concentration was to restore the ancient constitution; and of this the monarchy, as the symbol of national unity, was by far the most important part. The character of the English monarchy at this time has first of all to be considered; not only what in actual fact it was, but also—and this is much more important for the purpose now in hand—what, according to the Tory dogmas and arguments, it ought to have been. Nothing will bring out more clearly the true position of the Tories than a knowledge of their views upon the origin of kingship, and upon the extent and limitations of its rights, its duties, and its powers.

It is a remarkable fact that the English Restoration was coincident with a critical epoch in the history of monarchy. For, in spite of the Civil War and the execution of Charles I.—an event which, as Carlyle characteristically said, sent a cold shudder down the backs of flunkeyism throughout Europe—never before scarcely did kingship generally assume such absolutist forms. Certain it is that in many countries—Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, for example—the elective principle was giving way to the hereditary one.

But however that may be, there can be no question that for a hundred and fifty years before the Restoration kingly power and authority throughout Europe had been constantly increasing. For this fact there were two special causes which varied in intensity in time and place. There was, first, the contest of secular princes with the Papacy, whose arrogant

pretensions they determined to resist. To effect this object—in which they enlisted the sympathy of their subjects by appealing to their national pride—it was necessary to magnify their office and to insist on the absence of human limitations to their power. Secondly, the rapid development of nations in the modern sense made monarchy an absolute necessity. The substitution of what may be called the 'country-state' for the 'city-state' as the national unit may be said to be one of the great distinguishing features of modern as compared with ancient and medieval Europe. It has, therefore, been justly remarked that the notable tendency toward absolute monarchy, which reached a culminating point in the middle of the seventeenth century, was largely due to the growth of modern 'country-states.' 'The main cause of this phenomenon is,' it has been said, 'the greater need in a country-state of the unity and concentration of power given by lifelong headship, owing to the greater difficulty of maintaining national unity and political order in a people dispersed over so large a space.'[1] In England, during the time of the Tudor dynasty, the authority of the Crown was enormously enhanced; and though this result was partly due to the character of its wearers, who were resolute and masterful, it is still more to be ascribed to the national determination to submit no longer to the interference of the Papacy. It was as champions of the national aspirations, patriotic and religious, that the Tudors were enabled to exercise a sway which in other circumstances might well have not been tolerated. It was James I., however, who began to make for the Crown those arrogant assumptions which were destined to bring upon his successors such tragical results. It was as if to make amends for the infirmity of his title that he made pretensions for the Crown which, in England at any rate, were of an unprecedented kind. Not that he was without some measure of excuse; for it must not be forgotten that if his title found defenders, it was also strenuously questioned. When, for instance, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, Peter Wentworth, in reply to the Jesuit Parsons, wrote a pamphlet in support of the claims of James I., the work was burned, and the writer was flung into the Tower, notwithstanding his humble

[1] Sidgwick's *The Development of European Polity*, pp. 316–317.

protestations that 'the anger of a Prince is as the roaring of a lyon and even the messenger of death.'[1] It was a curious irony of fate that one so little regal in his bearing as was James, so little answering to the Homeric description of a king as 'a fosterling of Zeus,' should have been compelled to attempt to place the English throne upon a plane more exalted than any ever reached before. Yet this is just what 'the wisest fool in Christendom' tried to do; and though Bishop Burnet says that he became 'the scorn of his age,' and that 'no king could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was,'[2] it is a singular fact that his most extravagant claims were not only not resented, but probably were even supported by a majority of the people. It is, indeed, not too much to say that the claims made by James I. for the prerogatives of the Crown became part and parcel of the political stock-in-trade of the more thoroughgoing Tories. There was not a jot or tittle in those claims which appears to them to be not agreeable to reason, or inconsistent with the rightful liberties of the subject.

The ultimate source of the dogma of the divine right is probably to be found in the innate tendency of primitive man to invest their chiefs—who, it is to be remembered, were originally chosen on account of their superior abilities—with divine attributes, and still more to trace their descent from deified ancestors.[3]

Into the early history of this belief it would be here irrelevant to enter; it must be enough to say that for centuries it lingered over Europe. If for the most part held but faintly, it wanted only opportunity to become fervid and intense. The sublime notion of the Holy Roman Empire, which involved the theory that the Emperor held a divine commission from on high, helped perhaps to keep the creed alive and present to men's minds. But however that may be, anyone who has any knowledge of the psychological tendencies of primitive societies will readily believe that to the ignorant masses of the English

[1] Farrer's *Books Condemned to be Burnt*, pp. 37–40.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 29.

[3] Cp. Frazer's *Golden Bough*; H. Spencer's *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, pp. 687–688; article in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xvi., on 'The Deification of Kings in Greek Cities,' by E. R. Bevan: *Historical Essays by Members of Owens College*, article on 'The Beginnings of Caesar Worship,' by E. Fiddes.

population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the doctrine of the divine right would not appear in any way extraordinary. There was already a congenial soil in which the seed could germinate. Among the small minority of the educated the case was rather different. It was not to be expected that they would passively acquiesce in a dogma without making some attempt to find rational grounds, however slender, upon which it could be based. Now, it is a remarkable fact that the trend of events supplied the reasons which were sought. If they were not wholly valid, they were reasons of a kind which in the stern conflicts of the time were practically of an overwhelming kind. The new order of European politics seemed to make the divinity of kings an almost inevitable dogma. 'Feudalism,' as Sir H. Maine justly remarks, 'effectually controlled by express customs the exorbitant theoretical pretensions of most European sovereigns. It is notorious, however, that as soon as the decay of the feudal system had thrown the medieval constitutions out of working order, and when the Reformation had discredited the authority of the Pope, the doctrine of the divine right of kings rose immediately into an importance which had never before attended it.'[1] It is not too much to say that it was the Reformation, and all that the Reformation brought with it in its train, which caused statesmen and political philosophers to insist upon a theory that invested princes with an indefeasible authority. In order to dispose of the pretensions of the Papacy to the right to depose secular rulers, it became necessary to affirm that those rulers were clothed with privileges which even for Popes it would be impious to assail. The old papal theory that, although both princes and Popes derived their authority from God, yet the latter derived it immediately, but the former only indirectly through the medium of the people, was brushed aside. It was a convenient doctrine for the Papacy, but scarcely so for the rulers of the great nations which were growing in power and beginning to feel conscious of their strength. The fiction of the divine right was in fact a weapon forged for use in the battle to be waged by the Protestant against the Roman Catholic world. If in Roman Catholic France the doctrine was strongly held, much more so was it in Protestant England,

[1] Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. 9.

where a passion for national independence burned fiercely in the veins and pulses of the people.

If the determination to resist the papal claims afforded an irresistible argument for maintaining the theory of divine right, there were other reasons also of scarcely less cogency and weight. First, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope became vested in the Crown; and if the State was to be made secure from clerical control, it was imperative to place the Crown in a position of incontestable supremacy. The sovereign was, it was alleged, the supreme governor of the Church by virtue of his divine commission. Next, there were peculiar reasons on the accession of James I. why the fiction should be readily, not to say eagerly, accepted. It was the natural consequence of that accession; for the notion of a king succeeding by the simple right of birth was in England at that time a strange one. The English had experienced succession by election, by usurpation, by statute, and by testamentary gift, but not by right of birth. The succession of James I. was, therefore, rather puzzling; for it seemed that unless he was king by divine right he was not king by any right at all. But, as the nation was resolved that the question of the succession should not be for a moment in dispute, the divine right of James I. became a dogma upon which it was very advantageous to insist. It was, moreover, not repellent. Even two years before the accession of James a member of Parliament could get up in his place and say: 'God hath given that power to absolute princes which He attributes to Himself. . . . *Dixi quod dii estis.* So that when James made those assertions to which reference has been made he was very far from saying things that were displeasing to the great majority of the nation. Seeing that he was described in the Dedication of the Authorised Version of the Bible as 'a sanctified person' and 'your most Sacred Majesty,' his own pretensions were not likely to offend. If the doctrine of kingship set out by James with so much elaboration struck no discordant note, it would excite no surprise to find that his successor Charles I. did nothing to impair it. His own deliberate statement had no uncertain sound. 'Though I must avow, that I owe the account of my actions to God alone'; 'Howsoever princes are not bound to give account of their actions but to God alone'; the people have not 'a

share in Government; that is nothing to them'—words such as these leave no doubt what his own opinions were.[1] And so in those pathetic lines composed in the solitude of Carisbrooke the haunting idea finds expression:

> Nature and Law, by thy divine decree
> (The only root of righteous loyalty!)
> With this dim diadem invested me.

Nor, again, any more than in the case of James, must it be supposed that Charles was making assumptions that the majority of his subjects were unwilling to allow.

The Tories were above everything the party of strong and concentrated government, and it was, therefore, natural that they should have grasped at any arguments or dogmas which tended to support the keystone of the constitution—that is to say, the sovereignty of the Crown. If the circumstances which attended the accession of James I. rendered the theory of divine right acceptable, hardly less so did those which attended the Restoration of Charles II. The Civil War and Commonwealth formed a grim experience of which the memory was green. There were ravages to be repaired and wounds still gaping to be healed. It has been well observed that 'among the results of the movement which culminated in the great rebellion was of necessity a marked diminution in the universality and efficacy of that mixture of feelings and beliefs which constitute loyalty to national government.' Now, such a diminution was an imminent peril to the State, and to stay its progress was imperative. As loyalty is necessary to the stability of government, and as it is the special function of conservatism to stimulate the loyal sentiment, there could be no question as to the form the Tory policy would take. The monarchy once restored, good reasons for maintaining it were much to be desired. In the divine right of kings the Tories found almost exactly what they wanted. Its adoption affords an excellent illustration of the difference between the cause of belief and of the reason given for it, and an example of the tendency to substitute the reason for the cause. The cause, in fact, of the belief in the divine right differed widely from the reasons offered for it; for the

[1] Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 8 and 17.

cause was nothing else than the necessity to quicken loyalty and to augment the stiffening and binding forces of society. To quote Mr. Balfour once again, the theory was an argument invented to bolster up the loyalty 'which authority had been found temporarily insufficient to sustain.' It was 'an example of how an ancient principle, broadly based though it be on the needs and feelings of human nature, may be thought now and again to require external support to enable it to meet some special stress of circumstances.' It moreover serves to illustrate the psychological phenomenon to which Mr. Balfour in this connection has alluded. 'Perhaps, however,' he says, 'the most striking evidence, both of the powers of authority and the rights of reason, may be found in the fact already alluded to, that beliefs which are really the offspring of the first, when challenged, invariably claim to trace their descent from the second, although this improvised pedigree may be as imaginary as if it were the work of a college of heralds.' So regarded, the theory of the divine right is clearly seen to be the natural figment of the Tory attitude of mind.[1]

The protagonists for the divine right relied mainly upon Biblical authority. They sought, moreover, to bolster up their dogma by another line of argument; that is to say, by calling in the aid of what is known as the patriarchal theory of the origin of government. This theory was a different one, but its logical results were much the same; and it had the additional recommendation that it, too, sought to derive its sanction from the Bible. According to this view the family is the pattern of the State; the State, it is said, is an extension of the family, the head of the State being the father, and the people his children. The King for the time being is the father of the chief family in the State, and the eldest son succeeds him by virtue of an indefeasible hereditary title. Upon the whole it may be said that modern scholarship would admit the patriarchal theory to this limited extent, that if it was not actually the origin of political society, real or assumed kinship was often the nucleus of a community, and that the establishment of a patriarchal family tended to make the chieftainship hereditary.[2]

[1] Mr. Balfour's *The Foundations of Belief*, part iii., ch. 2.

[2] Sidgwick's *The Development of European Polity*, pp. 56–58.

But a speculative theory on the origin of government is a very different thing from an attempt to apply the theory to the present, and to turn it to account in the burning political questions of the hour. This is, however, the very thing which the controversialists of the seventeenth century tried to do. As an abstract proposition the patriarchal theory must for them have had very little charm; as an argument in defence of monarchy it had, or was supposed to have, in the opinion of those who held it, considerable weight. They, in fact, fell into a fallacy. For a knowledge of the manner in which an institution has been historically evolved does not enable one to decide what its present function is. Because the first kings were fathers of families, it by no means follows that monarchy is the only legitimate form of government.

It has been said that the holders of the divine right theory made use of the patriarchal one as a kind of secondary basis. The two ideas, though originally distinct, became blended and confused. The fusion marks an interesting point of transition in the political philosophy of the time. There is no occasion here any further to insist upon that close connection between theology and politics which for so long determined the current of affairs. In no department of speculation so much as in the political were men's minds so deeply coloured by theological prepossessions. The divine right theory was a product of an age which had not yet passed out of the theological condition. But in the patriarchal theory—which was a theory of natural rights—is to be seen the beginning of a transition into the next stage of metaphysics. The doctrine of natural rights was in fact only that of the divine right disguised or looked at from another point of view. In both ideas there was implicitly contained the conception of the organic character of the State; that it was a natural organism capable of development and growth, and not an artificial creation or a mechanical contrivance. The truth of Aristotle's saying that man is a political animal was, in a different way, expressed. But of all this there was no clear intellectual apprehension, and the two ideas were intertwined. For a century before the Restoration the ideas of the divine right and of the natural right of kings had been floating vaguely in the intellectual atmosphere. In one shape or another

they were constantly appearing. In More's *Utopia*, for example, the patriarchal is the chosen form of government. Both Hooker and Bacon, as has been already seen, regarded the patriarchal as the original form of kingship. The latter held both theories simultaneously, for while he styled kings 'mortal gods on earth,' he held that submission to them was like the obedience of a child to his parents. Of the views of James I. and his successor mention has already been made. But what is the most remarkable fact of all is that the doctrines should have received the stamp of official recognition from a State-established Church. Both the *Homilies* and the Canons of Convocation of 1606 asserted the divine right, an historical fact which, as will be seen hereafter, was a factor of great importance in the later stages of the controversy. It was again asserted by Convocation in 1640, and was constantly put forward in the polemical literature of the time.

The patriarchal theory derived a good deal of its interest and importance from the fact that it received its most brilliant exposition in a book that made a considerable stir at a critical moment in the history of the monarchy. Though it was not published until the time when the agitation over the Exclusion Bill was at its height, it was written about 1642, and though it is to some extent to anticipate events it will be convenient to make some mention of it here. The *Patriarcha* or *The Natural Power of Kings* was the work of Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet. Sir Robert was a country gentleman of East Sutton, Kent, who in the Civil War had made a gallant fight in the Royalist cause. No better example of the theological method of political speculation can be found than in his writings. But the innumerable flaws in his argument did not trouble him at all; for though the foundations might be crazy, he proceeded with a magnificent self-confidence to build the superstructure. He affirms that the question is not 'whether there be an arbitrary power, but who shall have it'; and that 'the supreme power being an indivisible beam of majesty, cannot be divided among or settled upon a multitude.' And he goes on quite fearlessly to draw his logical deductions. 'As kingly power is by the law of God, so it hath no inferior power to limit it. The father of a family governs by no other law than his own will, not by the law and wills of his sons and

servants . . . the direction of the law is but like the advice and direction which the King's council gives the King, which no man says is a law to the King . . . general laws made in parliament, may, upon known respects to the King, by his authority be mitigated or suspended upon causes only known to him, and by the coronation oath, he is only bound to observe good laws, of which he is the judge . . . a man is bound to obey the King's command against law, nay, in some cases against divine laws.' He thinks that a limited monarchy is self-contradictory, for if the King is judge, the monarchy is not limited; whereas, if the people is judge, the King is no monarch. He argues that anarchy is the alternative to monarchy, because it is related that when there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes; or at all events, if not anarchy, a military despotism—what Aristotle called statocracy. He affected to believe that only under a monarchy was true religion safe, as was proved by what happened in Holland and Venice; 'for one of them hath all religions and the other no religion; the atheist of Venice may shake hands with the sectary of Amsterdam.' [1]

It has been said that after Clarendon no English statesman really believed in the divine right of the sovereign he served, and that Charles II. probably believed it still less than any of his ministers. That is probably strictly true. Perhaps even Clarendon himself sometimes had his qualms of doubt; for in his speech at the prorogation of Parliament in 1660 he used words which seem to be studiously cautious and reserved: "You know Kings are in some sense called gods, and so they may in some degree look into men's hearts; and God hath given us a King who can look so far into men's hearts as any prince alive.' [2] But though the Restoration statesmen may not in their heart of heart have credited the theory, it is certain that many less prominent persons did so. And even the statesmen and the persons in authority asserted it as strongly as they dared. The Book of Common Prayer, itself authorised by Parliament, contained forms

[1] Filmer's *Patriarcha*; his *Freeholder's Grand Inquest*, and *Observations upon Aristotle's Politics*; Gairdner and Spedding's *Studies in English History*, Essay on 'The Divine Right of Kings.'

[2] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 69.

of words which must greatly have encouraged the belief. Such expressions as his 'Sacred Majesty,' 'Thine Anointed Servant,' 'The Sacred Person of Thine Anointed,' 'The only Ruler of Princes,' and the like, are of unmistakeable import and intention. The Anniversary Service for January 30 in modern ears sounds almost impious and blasphemous. Churches were in some places dedicated to St. Charles, and, to make the parallel more complete, Laud was compared with John the Baptist. The Coronation Service, with its use of unction, suggested a similar train of thought; and though in modern times the anointing of a monarch is interpreted in a manner that is purely symbolical and spiritual, it is probable that it originally implied a good deal more than this. In the seventeenth century there must have been many who believed that the unction imparted in some measure the divine character and nature. Not that the Coronation ceremony in any way affected the title or status of the Crown; for, as was laid down by Coke, it is 'but a royal ornament and solemnisation of the royal descent, but no part of the title.'[1] In the case of Charles II. the ceremony was postponed in order to emphasise the fact. What the Church seemed to approve in its services could scarcely have outraged the feelings of the nation. On the contrary, there is very little doubt but that the majority heartily assented.

Many of those who were unquestionably Tory in their sentiments were at no pains to conceal their real opinions. The Duke of Newcastle, for example, told Charles II. that he was 'God's true Anointed and his Deputy upon earth, next and immediately after Christ,' and advised him to be scrupulous in the maintenance of ceremonious order, 'when you appear to show yourself gloriously to your people like a god'; for then his people would fall on their knees and worship and pray and would tremble with fear and love.[2] Again Lord Keeper Sir Orlando Bridgeman, in addressing the grand jury at the trial of the regicides, told them that 'as to the person of the King, he is not to be touched. Touch not Mine anointed. It is true (blessed be God) we have as great liberties as any people have in Christendom, but let us owe them where they are due; we

[1] Figgis's *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, p. 10.
[2] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

have them by the concession of our Princes. Our Princes have granted them and the King now grants them.'[1] The Tory historian, Roger North, could scarcely restrain his enthusiasm when he spoke of the office of a king. 'A tolerable king,' he writes, 'is of greater account than a very good man in a private estate. But when we reflect upon the public, all comparatives vanish, and Kings are God's Vice-regents, and with all their failings and infirmities, have a clear right to the subject's duty and obedience, according to the model of the national laws, which, as well as the Gospel, have declared against all opposition of force, on any pretence whatsoever.'[2] There was no stronger Tory than that upright and conscientious servant of the State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, nor was there anyone who put the royal prerogative higher. He was, says Burnet, 'a great asserter of the divine right of monarchy,' and his speech in the House of Commons in the debate on the Exclusion Bill proves that this was no exaggerated statement. 'I am,' he said, 'of opinion that the Kings of England have their right from God alone; that no power on earth can deprive them of it. . . . When God gives us a King in his wrath, it is not in our power to change him.'[3] The universities and the Inns of Courts were steeped in Tory sentiment, and this is how they expressed themselves. From Cambridge there came an address which was framed in a spirit of loyalty that knew no bounds: 'Kings derive not their titles from the people, but from God' . . . they rule 'by a fundamental right of hereditary succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, or forfeiture, can alter or diminish.'[4] At Oxford the grave Doctors of the University did not confine themselves to words of adulation. Assembled in Convocation in 1683, and determined to give some striking demonstration of their loyalty, they came to a momentous resolution. Describing the King as 'the breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord,' they passed a decree 'against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and governing and all human society.'

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 276.
[2] R. North's *Life of Francis North, Lord Guilford.*
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. p. 420.
[4] Cooke's *History of Party*, vol. i. p. 105.

With impetuous zeal and uncritical catholicity they interdicted all members of the university from reading the books infected with so dangerous a tendency and condemned them to the flames.[1] It was about the same time that the lawyers of the Middle Temple presented an address which for fervid loyalty did not fall behind the action of the universities. It thanked the King for asserting his prerogatives, 'which, as they were given by God Himself, so no power on earth could diminish them,' and expressed their resolution to defend those prerogatives by asserting with their lives and fortunes that divine maxim: *A Deo rex, a rege lex.*'[2]

The divine right theory had its root in the desire to find a philosophical basis for a strong and ordered government at a time when the ties of allegiance had been gravely weakened and impaired. Though, so far as it embodied the rational protest against the encroachments of the Papacy, it was not the doctrine of a party, yet it was especially the creation of those who represented in the State the elements of subordination and authority. If it may be rightly called a myth, it was an aetiological myth: invented, that is to say, to explain an actually existing state of things. But it was not any more a myth than the counter-theory of the social contract. It is not to be forgotten that truth is only an hypothesis that best fits the facts as far as they are known, and though doubtless truth exists, it may well be that all truths are not fit for all times, and that an age must be ripe to receive a truth if it is to be fruitful in results. The idea of the divine right of kings, so regarded, is not so vain as it might at first sight appear. For it did suit in some degree the time, and, in the light of existing knowledge, it was an hypothesis that was not entirely without warrant. When the State was in peril of dissolution for want of some cementing power, the appeal to a supernatural sanction for the government was almost a necessity. That the belief should have quickly passed away was only in accordance with the natural tendencies of the intellect of man. It has been well said that when an age is found occupied in proving its creed, it is but a token that the

[1] Cooke's *History of Party*, vol. i. pp. 346 *et seq.*

[2] Somers *Tracts*, vol. i. 'A Reply of the Reasons of the Oxford Clergy against Addressing.'

age has ceased to have any proper belief in it at all. Now to test and prove the divine right theory was the very thing in which the holders of it were constantly employed ; and so doing, it was not long before they held it only in a secondary and figurative sense. In the place of the idea of a divine king, or a mortal god, was substituted that of government as a divinely appointed institution.

The theory of the divine right had a practical as well as a speculative side, and it was one which politically was of hardly less importance. The belief, widely spread and deeply rooted, that monarchs had the miraculous power of curing scrofulous patients by their touch must have powerfully enhanced the reverence felt for royal persons and reinforced the notion of the divinity of kings. It is one of the strangest things in history that both in England and in France what was nothing less than a gross superstition should have produced effects of importance not inferior to those arising from the thoughts and actions of the wisest. The amazing extent to which the superstition was revived at the Restoration makes the subject from the present point of view one of peculiar interest and moment. For it lies in intimate and close relations with the very core of Tory doctrine.

The notion that kings possess healing powers appears, like the belief that they have a divine being, to belong naturally to primitive society. It was, for instance, a common belief among the Arabians that royal blood was a cure for hydrophobia and demoniacal possession. The Tongans, again, are said to believe that scrofulous persons must have inadvertently touched the king or his belongings, and that they can be cured by the touch of his feet. In Scotland, even right down to the end of the eighteenth century, the Macdonald clan was supposed to have the power of curing certain diseases by the touch.[1] But perhaps the most remarkable example is the story recorded by Tacitus of Vespasian. He tells us that a blind man begged the Emperor that he would deign to moisten his cheeks and eye-balls with his spittle, and that one with a diseased hand prayed that the limb might feel the print of Caesar's foot. The hand, he

[1] Frazer's *Golden Bough* (third edition), vol. i. pp. 320–321 ; Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 349.

says, was instantly restored to use, and the blind restored to sight, the facts being attested by persons actually present who had no interest in the fabrication of a falsehood.[1] It is not surprising that Vespasian was regarded as the object of the special favour of heaven and of the partiality of the gods. The popular English belief, therefore, in the healing power of kings, which reached its zenith during the seventeenth century, is less extraordinary than at first sight seems to be the case. It was, so to speak, a survival of primitive thought which by force of circumstances assumed considerable importance in the politics of the time. It was generally supposed that the English monarchs inherited the power from Edward the Confessor, just as the French kings did from Clovis or St. Louis. A special service for the ceremony was composed in Latin in the reign of Henry VII., but it does not appear that many persons made trial of the cure before the reign of James I. Then, contemporaneously with the growing belief in the divine right, the belief in the healing power of the royal touch was much intensified. James, as might have been expected from his avowed opinions, encouraged a superstition so politically useful. The passage in which Shakespeare attributes the healing gift to Edward, King of England, may well have been intended to convey a complimentary reference to James I.

> How he solicits Heaven,
> Himself best knows, but strangely-visited people,
> All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
> The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
> Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
> Put on with holy prayers, and 'tis spoken,
> To the succeeding royalty he leaves
> The healing benediction.[2]

Charles I. caused an English form of service to be composed, and touched many persons—seventy, it is said, on a single day at York; and, when he died, miraculous cures were alleged to have been effected by handkerchiefs that had been dipped in his blood. An English bishop, if we are to credit Evelyn, did not scruple to assure James II. that a blind man had thus been

[1] Tacitus, *History*, iv. 81.

[2] *Macbeth*, act iv. sc. iii.

healed. When, therefore, Charles II. was restored, the time was ripe for a great revival of the practice, in which he willingly participated; for though he must have viewed the fond belief with sceptical derision, he did not object to using it as a political expedient. In exile he had already practised it at Bruges, and in order to magnify the royal powers it was unwarrantably asserted that Cromwell had tried to cure, and failed. The royal monopoly in healing was one that was jealously guarded from infringement, as appears from the fact that in 1637 one Leverett was indicted in the Star Chamber for professing to employ the same remedial art. He claimed to have cured three hundred persons. The matter was referred to the Royal College of Physicians, who reported him to be an impostor—a finding which, of course, was exactly the one expected of them. Charles II. only fulfilled the national hopes and aspirations when he resumed a ceremony which had been so rudely interrupted. Amid universal acclamations he fixed every Friday for the purpose, the number of persons to be presented at one time being limited to two hundred. There could have been few more curious scenes than those which were witnessed weekly in the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall on these occasions.

That this singular ceremony should have been regularly performed during the reigns of Charles II. and his successor is one of those facts which afford much matter for reflection. The custom was undoubtedly a popular one. It has been calculated that in the course of his reign Charles II. touched nearly a hundred thousand persons. The greater his popularity, the larger the number of those who were presented. In settling the revenues of the Crown at the Restoration a sum of five thousand pounds a year was estimated for the expenses of the ceremony, but their actual amount was fully double that. How far the actors in these strange scenes were genuine believers it is impossible to say. Many of those who presented themselves no doubt were more attracted by the prospect of receiving the golden coin or 'angel' than by any real hope of relief from their affliction, but it can hardly be supposed that the royal physicians and the chaplains consciously took part in the acting of what they knew to be a lie. Nor were they entirely without scientific warrant. Dr. John Browne, for example, surgeon-in-

ordinary to the King, was one of those who entertained no doubts about the matter. Sancroft, it may be observed, in his sermon at Westminster at the Consecration of the Bishops of 1660, did not hesitate to speak of 'those very hands upon which God hath entailed a miraculous gift of healing.'[1] The case of Valentine Greatrakes, who in 1662 began to practise touching with the hands—it was believed, with some success—seemed at any rate to show that a cure by the royal touch was by no means an impossible event.[2] But, however that may be, the superstition—for such it really was—did actually possess some political importance. For it was just one of those beliefs to which Toryism, with its mystical and anti-rational tendencies, was naturally inclined. It is at any rate a remarkable fact that it was precisely when Toryism was in the hey-day of its power that people flocked in greatest numbers to obtain the royal touch, and it is certain that the popularity of the throne was in this way much enhanced. This gracious act of royal bounty, though fantastic, cemented the ties of allegiance and rooted more deeply the foundations of the monarchy. This was a fact that was fully recognised by the Duke of Monmouth when, with rebellion in his heart, he made one of those semi-royal progresses which so delighted his admirers. He audaciously presumed to touch the patients who were brought to him, in the vain hope of obtaining for himself something of the sacrosanct character of kings.

In close connection with the ceremony of touching lies that of Maundy Thursday. The custom of washing the feet of twelve poor persons by the king must have been suggested by the Gospel narrative and could scarcely have arisen but from the belief in his divinity. The action perhaps was thought incompatible with royal dignity, but at any rate it was not uncommonly deputed. Pepys, writing in 1667, records that 'the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him.'[3] In 1671 it is related that the Bishop of London again washed the feet of forty-one poor persons, the number of years of the King's age, and that the Queen washed the feet of twelve poor women. James II. was the last monarch to perform

[1] Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 433.

[2] Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. i.

[3] Pepys's *Diary*.

the act in person. It was afterwards always done by deputy until at last it was commuted for a money gift.[1]

That the belief in the sacred character of kings co-operated with other causes to bring about the Restoration it is impossible to doubt. It was for this reason especially that the execution of Charles I. so cruelly outraged Royalist sentiment; and Burnet does not understate the case when he observes that the King's serious and Christian deportment at his death created so much compassion for him and hatred of his executioners that this was the true occasion of the great turn of events in the year 1660. The Restoration had a sentimental side; it was an illustration of what has been called the pathetic fallacy. The memory, moreover, of that popular book, the *Eikon Basilike* or *The King's Meditations*, as Pepys called it, was still fresh in people's minds. Whether it was the work of the King or of Bishop Gauden it is perhaps impossible, and it is at any rate unnecessary, to decide.[2] It is enough that it was at the time unquestionably accepted as the King's, and that it heightened the popular belief in his divinity. So great was the impression which it produced that the Council of State ordered Milton to reply to it—which he did in his 'Eikonoclast.' Burnet tells us that it had 'the greatest run in many impressions that any book has had in our age,' and he admits 'its nobleness and justness of thought with a greatness of style.'[3] That is a point of criticism upon which opinions may well differ, but, whether well or ill written, it had some historical importance. Spread abroad throughout the country, found in every library and study, and imagined to be imbued, as it were, with the aroma of divinity, it was one of those silent influences which prepare unawares the way for great events. The Restoration, in a word, assumed in many minds the shape of a divine retribution for an outrage committed upon one who had been ordained to be a Deputy of God.

The burning political question which agitated society during the seventeenth century was one which was intimately con-

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report xii., Parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of S. H. Le Fleming, p. 77.

[2] Farrer's *Literary Forgeries*. The evidence in favour of Gauden seems overwhelming.

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 93–94.

nected with the theory of the divine right of kings. During that century of agonies the topic that was constantly in men's minds and on their lips was that of the relations of subjects to their sovereigns. It was a large topic, and one not merely of academic interest but of pressing practical importance. Was there such a thing as a right of subjects to resist, and, if so, under what circumstances might resistance be active or only passive? Or was there a paramount duty of non-resistance which should never under any circumstances be disregarded? Upon the answers to these questions momentous issues turned—it might be to rebellion, on the one hand, or to despotism upon the other. The doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which was so persistently and urgently inculcated by many persons, goes to the very root of Tory principles. For it was a view towards which the lovers of a firm and settled government would naturally incline.

There has already been occasion to remark that in an age still in what has been called the theological stage of intellectual development men constantly resorted to the authority of Holy Scripture. The topic of resistance to princes was no exception to the rule. It was in the Old Testament that the supporters of the right of resistance found most numerous examples upon which they could rely. They could point to the cases of Ehud and Joel, and to the four deposed Kings of Judah, Uzziah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachim, and Zedekiah. They could cite the example of the rebellion of the Jews against Antiochus. In fact the Jews could be taken as a type of a people rebelliously inclined. The New Testament, on the other hand, afforded little encouragement to rebels. If ever passive obedience was plainly taught, it was by Christ. His precept, to resist not the evil, seemed even to lend support to the contention—a highly useful one to despots—that oppressive rulers might be sent as a punishment from God. The famous chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, was of course triumphantly adduced by the political quietists, but their interpretation of the text was not passively accepted. What St. Paul exactly meant was hotly argued. While some said that he taught obedience to lawful princes only, others replied that he referred to all rulers whatsoever.[1]

[1] Gore's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.*

Then the conduct of the early Christians was eagerly debated. Some said that they offered no resistance because they regarded the Roman Emperors as their lawful rulers, and recognised the fact that their own religion was one the practice of which the law did not allow. Others argued that the early Christians only did not resist because they felt that they were much too weak to do so. In the course of the controversy much heat was produced but very little light. It seems to have occurred to no one that if a prince should be passively obeyed, so should the authorised head of a republic—a position, indeed, to which the Roman Emperors nearly approximated. The distinction, moreover, between a *de jure* and a *de facto* ruler was one that was only slowly apprehended.

To the Tory habit of mind the theological arguments for passive obedience were naturally acceptable ; and, in fact, no duty was more strenuously and persistently preached by those Tory bodies, the Church and the universities. The old feudal notion of fealty as the first of the virtues still lingered in the country. Rebellion continued to be, so many thought, what Bacon says it was according to the wisdom of antiquity—the giant offence. The saying in the Old Testament, that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, was a favourite quotation with the Tories.[1] The real allusion of the words to the use of magic, which was regarded by the official priests as an act of rebellion against their own authority, dropped out of sight ; but the text was none the less an apt one. Lord Guilford used it as a motto for a pamphlet, and Judge Jeffreys quoted it in a charge to a jury at Bristol. It is said that when the Duke of Monmouth attended service at Chichester Cathedral the sermon was preached upon the text, and that the Duke—smitten, it must be supposed, in conscience—went away in haste. Passive obedience was, indeed, in explicit terms the teaching of the Church. The *Homilies of Religion* put the matter beyond doubt : 'God alloweth . . . nor the weight of any cause as sufficient for which the subjects may move rebellion against their princes. . . . Where most rebellious and rebels be, there is the express similitude of hell, and the rebels themselves are the very figures

[1] 1 Samuel, xv. 23 ; cp. Andrew Lang's *Magic and Religion*, p. 46.

of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the Prince of darkness.'

Not even the defence of religion was excepted from the rule. In the year 1606 a very curious incident occurred, which, as a revelation of Church doctrine, is of considerable interest. Convocation was allowed to meet by James I. in order to draw up Canons for the Church. The Canons, as drafted, certainly condemned resistance in strong terms, but they went on to assert that a *de facto* settled government, though founded in usurpation, might be lawfully obeyed. A doctrine such as this so frightened James—who was acutely sensitive about his own infirmity of title—that he wrote to Archbishop Abbot to complain, telling him that he was playing with edged tools. The Canons were hurriedly withdrawn, but only to slumber for a while. For under the title of Overall's *Convocation Book* they were destined to reappear, as will be seen, some eighty years later on an interesting occasion. James I. shewed more commonsense than did his clergy. He remembered that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the English prelates had helped with their subscriptions the rebel Huguenots and the Dutch insurgents, who likened Philip of Spain to Antiochus Epiphanes and the Prince of Orange to Judas Maccabaeus, and it is so far to his credit that he put some value on consistency. It would have been better for Charles I. if the clergy during his reign had shown themselves more amenable to a spirit of moderation. For they claimed for him prerogatives which he would hardly have dared to claim for himself, and pitched the duty of obedience in the subject in terms of almost extravagant servility. Two clergymen, Robert Mainwaring and Robert Sibthorp, were prominent among the rest. Mainwaring—who might be described as the Sacheverell of his day—was an Oxford graduate who had been made rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields and Chaplain to the King. In the year 1627 he preached two sermons, one at Oaklands on Religion and another at Alderton on Allegiance. In the first he asserted that the payment of taxes imposed by the King could not be refused without peril of damnation, and likened those who refused him a loan to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and to Theudas and Judas. In the second he declared that the King had a right to impose taxes without the consent

of Parliament. Both sermons were afterwards preached again at St. Giles's, and were at the King's request printed as a pamphlet under the title of *Religion and Allegiance*. The House of Commons was immediately in a flame. They requested the House of Lords to summon the erring rector before them and to punish him for his offence. The Lords, who were nothing loath, ordered him to prison, fined him a thousand pounds, suspended him for three years, and suppressed the noxious book. But he suffered nothing in the long run. Pardoned by the King, he obtained several livings, and became in succession Dean of Worcester and Bishop of St. David's. Sibthorp was a Cambridge graduate, who was vicar of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton and Brackley in Northamptonshire. In 1626 he preached an assize sermon at St. Sepulchre's on the famous chapter on obedience in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. He argued that compliance should be made with the royal demand for a loan, and that, if princes commanded anything contrary to the laws of God or nature, passive obedience should be yielded. Charles sent the sermon to Archbishop Abbot for his licence to allow it to be printed, but even the Archbishop thought that it contained objectionable doctrine. Notwithstanding that both the King and Laud tried to meet his objections, he refused. The Bishop of London was found to be more pliant, though his chaplain, who read and approved it, was afterwards so frightened that he retracted his opinion. The sermon on Apostolical Obedience was, however, no bar to the worldly success of the time-serving vicar, for he was made a Royal Chaplain.[1]

The University of Oxford was no less distinct in its utterance than the Church. In the year 1622 one Knight preached a sermon at Oxford in which he maintained that subjects oppressed on account of their religion might rightfully resist. He was forthwith censured by the university. But this was not all. His doctrine was formally condemned, and it was decreed that henceforward all persons proceeding to degrees should take an oath that they detested it and would not entertain it at any future time.[2]

[1] *Stuart Tracts* (1603–1693), edited by C. H. Firth : 'The Sequestration of Archbishop Abbot from all his Ecclesiastical Offices in 1627.'

[2] Hallam's *Constitutional History*.

A revival of the doctrine of non-resistance—in correspondence with the revival of the theory of divine right—at the Restoration was but to be expected. And so, indeed, it proved. For it is obvious that those who ascribe a sacred character to kings must put the duty of obedience at its highest. From this point of view rebellion is to be classed with sacrilege and blasphemy. Yet although, as has been already seen, the divinity of kings was at the Restoration to be found among the cardinal points of Tory doctrine, the mental habit of the nation had insensibly undergone a change.

The duty of non-resistance was unquestionably still the doctrine of the Church and universities. When, for instance, Tillotson and Burnet—both afterwards strong Whigs—accompanied Lord William Russell upon the scaffold, they endeavoured to persuade him to admit the unlawfulness of resistance. Tillotson put his views upon the subject into writing. He told Lord William that 'the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority,' and that it was not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms against the King. But the condemned man, though he expressed himself open to conviction, was not to be persuaded; and it is not too much to say that he died for that right of resistance which the chaplains had as strenuously denied. If Burnet and Tillotson at the time of the Rye House conspiracy were of these opinions, quite as much so were Bishops Ken and Turner when, in the next reign, they administered the last consolations of religion to the Duke of Monmouth. They urged on him the duty of admitting the sinfulness of resistance, and told him that unless he did so he would be no true member of the Church.[1] Bishop Parker, again, the well-known prelate, put the matter in the most uncompromising terms. He argued that passive obedience was taught by both the Greek and Latin Churches, and that those who on any pretence whatever resisted their sovereign's commands 'must for ever renounce his Saviour, the four Evangelists, and the twelve Apostles . . . and turn a Judas to his Saviour as well as Cromwell to his Prince.'

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 54; supplement to the *History* by H. C. Foxcroft, pp. 35–38, 515–519; Foxcroft's *Life of the Marquis of Halifax*, vol. i. pp. 393–394.

The laity did not lag behind the clergy in the vehement expression of their views. There was the Tory historian, Roger North, for example, who affirmed that kings, 'with all their failings and infirmities, have a clear right to the subjects' duty and obedience, according to the model of the national laws, which, as well as the Gospel, have declared against all opposition of force on any pretence whatsoever.'[1] There was his brother Francis, Lord Guilford, the Tory Chancellor, who held that the Church of England was 'the best constitution for a monarch,' because, so he alleged, the King was supreme, he was accountable to none but God, and it was 'unlawful upon any occasion to take up arms against him, much less to depose him.'[2] Or, to quote him again, 'as for second causes in the disturbance of States, none can justify an armed opposition by subjects against their sovereign.' No one perhaps surpassed Sir Leoline Jenkins in extravagant assertions of limitless submission. 'When God,' he said in Parliament, 'gives us a king in his wrath, it is not in our power to change him. . . . We ought to pay obedience to our governors, whether good or bad, be they ever so faulty or criminal. Heathen princes were obeyed by Christians *in licitis et honestis*. And we are not to do evil that good may come of it, or for any prospect of good.' Or take Sir George Mackenzie's dictum in his *Jus Regium*, published in 1684: 'Monarchy in its nature is absolute, and consequently these pretended limitations are against the nature of monarchy'; or the philosophers Hobbes and Filmer: 'And therefore they who are subject to a monarch cannot without his leave cast off monarchy,' said the first. 'A man is bound to obey the King's commands against law, nay in some cases against divine laws,' said the second. Or, lastly, take the charge of Mr. Justice Allibon to a jury at the Croydon Assizes, which may be taken to represent the general view of the judicial bench. Referring to the trial of the seven bishops, he observed: 'If the King had been Turk or Jew, it had been all one; for the subject ought to obey; . . . our lawful superiors must be obeyed in all their lawful commands. This the Church of England men

[1] North's *Examen*.

[2] *Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by Singer, p. 187.

have made their business to preach up. The King is to be obeyed in everything, if it be not against God's commands.' [1] There never, indeed, wanted those who with voice and pen were ready to teach the duty of obedience, though few perhaps would have gone as far as King, the Dean of St. Patrick's, in declaring that it would be a glorious day for the Church of England when a whole cartload of her ministers should go to the scaffold in defence of the doctrine, and that his highest ambition was to be of such a company. Brave words; but that was probably the very last ambition which any of the clergy ever dreamed of entertaining.

There will no doubt be many—and, indeed, there have been many—who will pass a severe judgement on the early Tories for their words and acts in relation to this subject. But to do so indiscriminately would be a grave error, and reveal a want of that retrospective imagination which is necessary to the formation of correct historical views. What Hume says is, indeed, precisely true, that though passive obedience and indefeasible hereditary right became 'the universal doctrine and were esteemed the true characteristic of the Tory,' yet 'the Tories as men were enemies to oppression; and also as Englishmen they were enemies to arbitrary power.' At the Revolution, as he remarks, they showed that they had the genuine sentiments of Britons in their affection for liberty; but though lovers of liberty, they were greater 'lovers of monarchy.' [2] It is, moreover, no exaggeration to affirm that the theory of non-resistance presented itself to the Cavaliers as anything but slavish. It enabled them, on the contrary, to exalt themselves by exalting the monarchy and the Church, and to rescue themselves from degradation and subjection. The pity is that they allowed themselves to be drawn into an extravagance of statement of which perhaps at the time they hardly perceived the full significance. It is safe to say that there was scarcely a Tory to be found who did not abhor despotism in his heart. If the Tories have been generally censured, much more have been Churchmen, who formed so important a portion of the party—with how much justification will hereafter be considered.

[1] Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. No. lix.

[2] Hume's *Essays*—'Of the Parties of Great Britain.'

It was in the restoration of the monarchy that Toryism found the most complete manifestation of its powers. Subordination to properly constituted and traditional authority, a right relationship, as the Tories conceived it, between the rulers and the ruled—this was the very pith and marrow of conservative doctrine, the one thing necessary from which all the rest followed. It is for this reason that the Tory view of monarchy has been examined at greater length perhaps than the subject seemed to warrant. But without a full comprehension of that view, any right knowledge of the history of Toryism would be impossible. How the Tories translated their theories into action in all its various forms has now to be considered.

CHAPTER III

THE RESTORATION

Part I

> Henceforth a series of new time began,
> The mighty years in long procession ran.—Dryden.

The Restoration was the work of a coalition ; and it is a remarkable proof of the innate conservative character of the English people that the Parliamentary party should have joined hands with the Royalists in bringing it about. Though it may well be, as Lord Beaconsfield said, that England does not love coalitions, it has not unfrequently happened in the course of English history that a spirit of compromise has saved a critical situation. And so it was in 1660. It was discovered that, after all, monarchy was the form of government that divided the English nation least. Even Cromwell himself had thought that a settlement ' with monarchical power in it would be effectual.' ' Surely,' he said, ' the power of a king is so great and high, and so universally understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that it would be of great advantage in such times as these.' A true saying, but one to which he could not give a practical effect. Thus a coalition of all parties came about. It is a remarkable proof of the prevalent feeling of the time that a man like Prynne, who in former days had suffered the direst persecution from the authorities in Church and State, should now have been found among the strongest assertors of the claims of Charles II.—a service for which he was rewarded by being appointed Keeper of the Records. Charles himself struck the note of compromise in his Declaration of Breda in terms of studied moderation. He desired, he said, that ' all notes of discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects ' ;

he promised that 'no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom'; he asked for a settlement 'in a free Parliament by which upon the word of a king we will be advised.' There was, however, one element in the nation which beyond any other had to be taken into account: the army, that is to say, in whose hands the settlement ultimately lay. For, as Joubert justly says, force and right rule everything in this world; force until right appears. But at this critical point right had not yet appeared. It was fortunate for the country that the man who was the greatest military force in it was so exactly fitted to meet the situation. General Monk was neither too small to be below it, nor too large in mind and heart to be above it. He was a Presbyterian, but not encumbered with such strength of conviction as would have made him indisposed to compromise. He had that spirit of subordination which a military training breeds—a spirit that binds those not entirely self-reliant as with a magic spell. For a soldier, even after he has resolved to refuse obedience, usually involuntarily obeys when called upon to do so. Above all, Monk was not one of those fine and generous souls which can put self-interest aside for noble ends. Colepepper, writing to Hyde, took exactly the measure of his character. 'The way,' he said, 'to deal with him is by some fit person to show him plainly, and to give him all imaginable security for it, that he shall better find all his ends (those of honour, power, profit and safety) with the King than any other way he can take.'[1] That was excellent advice, and it was taken when the proper time arrived. Though he was not perhaps all that Pepys called him—a 'thick-skulled man,' 'a heavy, dull man,' 'a blockhead,' who 'hath strange luck to be loved, though he be the heaviest man in the world'—Monk was certainly no hero.[2] He required but little persuasion to discover that the way of restoration was the way to wealth and rank. How far he was impelled by Bishop Gauden, who, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's in February 1660 before him and the Lord Mayor, suggested the Restoration as 'the right method of healing Church and

[1] Osmund Airy's *Charles II.*, p. 135.

[2] Pepys's *Diary*, and Wheatley's *Pepysiana*.

State,'[1] it is impossible to say; or by the arguments of one John Collins, Steward of the Inner Temple, who claimed that it had pleased God to put it into his mind to argue with Monk in such a way that he was greatly moved; and that therefore it was he himself who was 'the man that did bring in the King.' It is more probable that he listened to the importunate exhortations of his wife. This avaricious woman, who played the part of the Duchess of Marlborough of her time, though, says Pepys, she was 'a plain homely dowdy,' is said to have 'quickened him with a curtain lecture of damnation,' and was consequently described as 'a happy instrument in this glorious work.'[2]

The first practical step of the restored Government was to summon the Convention Parliament. This body, which might be described as 'Presbyterian-Royalist' in composition, was but faintly Tory in its sympathies. That was to be expected; for the so-called 'Malignants' were excluded from its ranks. The exclusion of the strongest representatives of Cavalier sentiment caused the Convention to be anything but Tory. It might rather be described as moderately Whig, to make use of an anachronism. At this moment the conservative reaction had only touched the point when the Presbyterians became supreme instead of the Independents. The Presbyterians had, indeed, as Mrs. Hutchinson bitterly remarked, 'long since espoused the royal interest, and forsaken God and the people's cause, when they could not obtain the reins of government in their own hands, and exercise dominion over all their brethren.' The Convention, thus leavened by a spirit of liberalism, did its work in a manner that was eminently pacific. With a reverence for legality, it left untouched the political changes effected prior to August 1641. It dealt with the question of amnesty, it passed an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, it abolished feudal tenures, and fixed the revenues of the Crown. A purely transitional body, it fulfilled its all too brief and tranquillising mission.

With the general election of 1661 the flood tide of Toryism began to rise. The Cavalier party, no longer excluded, swept the country, and a strong conservative House of Commons was

[1] Hutton's *History of the English Church*, p. 183.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Article on Monk.

returned. Placed thus in an impregnable position, the Tories were enabled at once to carry out their own characteristic policy, the ground ideas of which were subordination, regard for custom and tradition, reverence for authority, and concentrated power. The Parliament elected in 1661 was hardly less remarkable than the Long Parliament for its duration and for the nature of its achievements.

The summoning of Parliament recalled the House of Lords into existence; and this was a fact of some importance from the Tory point of view. For an hereditary chamber is an institution which is entirely consonant with the conservative intellectual habit. An aristocracy, it has been justly said, 'by the very conditions of their existence must as a body always be averse to innovation.'[1] They have usually much to lose and little to gain by change of any kind, and some of their most pleasurable emotions lie in association with the past. From the mortifications of the present, the competition and assumptions of men socially their inferiors, they turn naturally to bygone days for consolation. It was a small House in numbers; only one hundred and thirty-nine were summoned, and of these only from seventy to a hundred usually attended. As a force therefore upon the Tory side it was not so great as might have been expected. Lord Clarendon, indeed, would have had them exert their influence more, if he could have had his way. As it was, he often warned them against the encroachments of the Commons, who 'were invited to meddle and interfere in matters out of their own sphere.' He declared that the King was induced to 'undervalue his House of Peers as of little power to do him good or harm,' a state of things to which, he thought, the Lords contributed by their apathy; 'whilst the other House sat and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them as the only vigilant people for their good.'[2] It is remarkable, indeed, that it was from the Whig side that there came the most conspicuous instances of appreciation of the Lords. Moreover, even during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., when Toryism was running high, the peers showed themselves on some occa-

[1] Buckle's *History of Civilisation,* ch. ix.

[2] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion,* Book. III.; and *Autobiography* Part VI.

sions more liberal than the Commons. They, for instance, endeavoured to mitigate the Act of Uniformity by the addition of provisoes empowering the King to dispense with the wearing of the surplice and the using of the sign of the cross in baptism, and by allowing the dispossessed ministers to enjoy one-fifth of the emoluments of the livings they vacated. In 1674, again, a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords to repeal certain sections of the Act in order to compose religious differences. In the case of the Conventicles Act, too, the Lords endeavoured to temper its severity. So marked, indeed, sometimes was the superiority they showed in breadth of mind that Ranke thinks that the peers, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Wharton, and those who acted with them, may be looked on as the first Whigs.[1] Nevertheless, the Upper House was capable of displaying a strongly Tory spirit, and, when its own interests were concerned, of acting in an arbitrary manner. They exempted, for instance, themselves from the operation of the clause in the Licensing Act that permitted the houses of individuals to be searched for unlicensed books; and from the provisions of the Act of 1665 that imposed regulations to check the progress of the Plague. Again, they several times threw out the Habeas Corpus Bill, and in 1675 they passed a Bill that imposed a test on members of both Houses and all holders of office—that is to say, a declaration that resistance to persons commissioned by the King was in all cases unlawful, and that they would never propose any alteration in the Government in Church and State. They also threw out the Exclusion Bill by a large majority. Again, in condemning Lord Stafford to death—an act which almost amounted to judicial murder—they displayed a spirit of intolerance for which, though in this instance it was shown chiefly by the Whigs, the great majority of the House must be held responsible. Nor should it be forgotten that in dealing with the question of the regicides in the Convention Parliament of 1660 the Upper House showed a spirit of vindictiveness to which the Commons rose superior.

Before leaving the subject of the political composition of the Lords there remains one point to which reference must be made, and that is the practice of the sovereign to attend at

[1] Ranke's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 11.

their debates. This custom, which had fallen into abeyance since the time of Henry VIII., was to a certain extent revived by Charles II. The presence of the sovereign would probably exert a silent influence by putting a check upon the freedom of debate, and tend to exalt the weight of the monarchy in the balance of the constitution. Whether during the reign of Charles II. any such result followed may, however, very well be doubted. Andrew Marvell, writing in 1670, records that the King 'hath for this whole week come every day in person to the House of Lords and sat there during their debates and resolutions. And yesterday the Lords went in a body to Whitehall, to give him thanks for the honour he did them therein.' But he afterwards remarks, with much good sense, to another correspondent with regard to the practice, 'that at any other but so bewitched a time as this it would have been looked on as an high usurpation and breach of privilege. He, indeed, sat still for the most part and interposed very little; sometimes a word or two.'[1] Charles himself said that he thought it better than going to a play, and his actions sometimes certainly lent to the proceedings of the House an element of farce. On one occasion, in order to avoid dealing with a Bill to relieve Protestant Dissenters, sent up by the House of Commons, he contrived that it should be stolen from the table in the Lords. On another, he showed such an extravagance of delight over a money Bill which stretched from the Throne to the end of the Chamber that he measured it with his walking-stick. It is, therefore, probable that a practice which in the hands of an energetic prince might have greatly influenced the House and made it more subservient, tended during the reign of Charles II. to lower both it and the Crown in the estimation of all serious-thinking persons. That was not a result that any sincere and thorough-going Tory could have viewed with satisfaction.[2]

That those who were engaged in the work of building up a strong and settled Government should have endeavoured to remove as far as possible all disintegrating forces is only what

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 318, 324.

[2] *The Historical Manuscripts Commission*; the Papers of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. i. p. 326; and Report XV.; the Papers of the Duke of Portland, vol. vii. p. 38.

might have been expected. The simplest course was to root up and destroy their most prominent opponents by a process of proscription. But it was a plan more obvious than politic. Charles II., indeed, in this regard was more far-sighted than his counsellors. Like Julius Caesar, who replaced the statues of Sulla which the mob had overthrown, he judged that the vanquished would be more easily disposed of by their absorption into the State than by an attempt to extirpate them altogether. In his declaration 'to all his loving subjects' he promised 'a free and general pardon' to all who within forty days 'shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament; those only to be excepted.' That was a statesmanlike promise, and both generous and politic. Shortly after his landing he issued a further proclamation, in which he commanded those who had sat as judges of his father to render themselves up 'on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates.' In what followed—'shameful chicanery' Hallam does not hesitate to call it—the Tory spirit showed itself in its most odious and repellent shape. It made a disingenuous use of an ambiguous situation, whether purposely or only inadvertently created. Some persons were in this way allured into surrender, or, to use the language of the time, they were 'trepanned.' [1]

The victorious Royalists indulged in some minor acts of vengeance, to which reference may here be relevantly made. Harrington, for instance, the speculative Republican who wrote the *Oceana*, was marked as dangerous, and confined for a while in the Tower and Portsea Castle. Withers, the poet, was also committed to the Tower for 'writing of treasonable and scandalous poems.' These attentions to literary men, though certainly embarrassing, at least testified to the influence they exerted. Milton, though in great peril, was spared—perhaps, it has been suggested, through the influence of Clarendon. Yet if there was one man more than another who seemed marked

[1] The curious reader will find much interesting matter in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. lvii. p. 928, by Bishop Welldon, on 'The Fate of Oliver Cromwell's Remains.'

out for vengeance it was Cromwell's Latin secretary. For no one surely had sinned more grievously against the monarchy. He was, indeed, arrested and brought before the House of Commons and discharged, but not until he had incurred a debt of a hundred and fifty pounds to the Serjeant-at-Arms for fees. When the matter was brought by Andrew Marvell to the notice of the House, Finch, the Solicitor-General, said that instead of paying the money he well deserved hanging—a sentiment, doubtless, with which the majority agreed. But, short of actual punishment, the angry Tories took all the vengeance upon him they could. On the petition of the House of Commons, his *Eikonoklastes* and *Defensio Populi Anglicani* were ordered to be burned by the common hangman; his books were removed from the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and a proposal to erect a tablet to his memory in Westminster Abbey was rejected by Dr. Sprat, the Dean. Even in 1676 Sir Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State, referred to him as 'that late villain Milton.' Dr. Johnson, writing a century later, said that hell grew darker at his frown. We may therefore well believe that the savage hatred felt towards him by contemporary Royalists must have been almost indescribable.[1]

With the general election of 1661 a long period of triumphant Toryism was inaugurated. In the full flush of reaction, a House of Commons was returned with an immense Royalist majority. In the City of London, indeed, where the excitement ran high, four Dissenters were elected. But from the politics of the City—which, as will be seen hereafter, occupied a singular position—the general feeling of the country greatly differed; and a Parliament was chosen that turned out to be one of the most remarkable in English history, and of extreme importance from the point of view of the history of Toryism in particular. That it should have survived all shocks until 1679 is in itself a memorable thing. But it is still more as an organ for putting Tory doctrines into practice that it claims to be remembered.

The acts of this remarkable assembly were variously regarded

[1] *The Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report XV., Parts VII. and VIII.; the Papers of the Duke of Somerset, p. 93; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. pp. 71, 162; *Memoirs of Sir W. Temple*, by T. P. Courtenay, vol. ii. p. 98.

by its contemporaries according to the party point of view. While it was lauded by the Tories, to lovers of liberty it was exceedingly abhorrent. It was not long, for instance, before Algernon Sydney could speak of it in this way: 'They, who could formerly bridle kings and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become the instruments of our oppression, and a sword in his hand to destroy us.'[1] But the historian, looking backwards from a vantage-ground above the strife of party, will judge it in a more impartial way. While lamenting its acts of unrestrained repression, he will marvel at its energy, and allow that it did good and useful work from the constitutional point of view. For it defended and extended parliamentary rights and privileges; it successfully insisted on its claim to superintend questions of finance, and on the responsibility of Ministers; and, to quote Ranke, 'it established for all times the parliamentary and Protestant character of the English constitution.' And that in itself is no small praise. It is perhaps an over-statement of Blackstone to assert that in the reign of Charles II. 'the constitution of England had arrived to its full vigour, and the true balance between liberty and prerogative was happily established by law.' Still less warrant is there for maintaining that the era was one of 'national happiness and exemplary government,' or that the constitution had arrived at its 'greatest theoretical perfection.' Nevertheless, in spite of many cases of individual oppression, it is probably true, as Hallam says, that 'the fundamental privileges of the subject were less invaded' during the reign of Charles II. than in any other period of equal length. Nor can it be denied that, though remarkable for political depravity, the reign was distinguished by some excellent legislation. It was an era of good laws and bad government. The Habeas Corpus Act, the abolition of the writ *De Heretico Comburendo*, the Statute of Distributions, and the Statute of Frauds are some of the achievements of the first regular Parliament of Charles II. If not a high-minded or disinterested assembly, it was certainly a strong and energetic one.

That it was an intensely conservative House goes without saying. It must have been a strange one too. It was full of

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Second Collection). Letter of A. Sydney.

young Cavalier country gentlemen, elected by the people in a furious fit of anti-Puritanism. 'I will keep them till their beards grow,' said Charles II. on one occasion. These gay young sparks, we are told by Roger Pepys, who was a member of the House, opposed everything that was moved by serious men. 'They are,' he tells his brother the Diarist, 'the most profane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life.' On one occasion, when the King was very anxious to have a strong muster of the Court party present in the House, orders were given to the Lord Chamberlain—who at that time seems to have performed the functions of a party whip—'to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently.' [1] The very nicknames of the House—the 'pensioned' or the 'pump'—indicate that its conscience was, to say the least, not acutely sensitive to honour. Roger Pepys, for instance, says that he never knew what it was to be tempted to be a knave until he entered it. Even that strong Tory, Roger North, makes no scruple in admitting that it was called 'pensioned' owing to what was known as the method of 'taking off,' or, in plain language, of bribing the opponents of the Court. It was styled the 'pump' Parliament because it was said that a little water put into a pump brings up a great deal; and it is to be supposed that in an analogous manner a little judicious bribery was thought capable of producing wonderful results. It could not have been a very nice assembly of which Andrew Marvell could write in this way: 'There is a handful of salt, a sparkle of soul that hath hitherto preserved this gross body from putrefaction. Some gentlemen that are constant, invariable, indeed Englishmen.' [2]

When the character of the electoral system that prevailed during the Restoration period is considered—with the narrow franchise, the close corporations, the inveterate bribery, the overt efforts of the Crown to influence results, and the mercenary aims of candidates themselves—it can only be concluded that the nation as a whole was very imperfectly represented in the House which was supposed to be its own special organ of opinion. And yet the force of public opinion is so subtle and pervading, and

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. p. 322.

in the long run so impressive, that it is probable that even under the unfavourable conditions to which reference has been made the House was more truly representative than at first sight may be supposed. The legislation of a country in any given period reflects very closely the public opinion that prevails; like the art of the actor, it exhibits of the very 'age and body of the time his form and pressure,' it mirrors, so to speak, the national conscience. For it has been well said that the institutions of a country are its character solidified. It may be true, indeed, that British Parliaments have sometimes flouted or defied the opinion of the nation; and it is probable that Lord Lonsdale, writing in the reign of James II., was not altogether without warrant when he said 'that the conclusions of Parliament have often been against the sense of the nation, and the Crown hath drawn great advantages from their too eager opposition to it.'[1] Yet that is a state of things which has never long continued, even in times when opinion outside Parliament was scarcely organised at all. For in the last resort the people themselves may be said to be the root of that social tree of which the laws are but the branches.

Such, very briefly, was the character of the 'pensioned' House of Commons looked at from the representative point of view. It was, of course, not homogeneous. 'A beast not to be understood,' so Pepys described it.[2] From the very beginning it exhibited that line of cleavage into the two great parties which has lasted ever since. Not yet known as Whigs and Tories, it is not easy to find in single words a proper designation for them. On the one side there were Cavaliers, Royalists, Church of England men, and supporters of the Government; on the other, Roundheads, Dissenters, Republicans, and those who opposed the measures of the Ministers of the Crown. It would perhaps be best to speak of them as the 'Court' and 'Country' parties. Burnet, writing of the year 1669, observes that 'the names of the Court and Country party, which till now had seemed to be forgotten, were again revived';[3] and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that during the first few years of the reign of Charles II. the terms were quite in common

[1] Lonsdale's *Memoirs of the Reign of James II.*, p. 459.

[2] Pepys's *Diary.* [3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 497.

use. Roger North, at least, speaks of them as though they were so. The 'Country party,' he says, included in their ranks 'abundance of gentlemen that meant well, but did not discern to the bottom, together with all the malcontents and desperadoes of the Republican gang.' It was a title, he tells us, that was taken in exchange for that of 'the Party Volant, which the more plausible of the faction formerly affected.' [1] The 'Country party' was in fact what would now be called the Opposition, and it is evident that they were a very active Opposition too. 'Under the colour of a Country party,' says Roger North again, 'another party prevailed much in the House of Commons, and by certain acts then used, such as were termed Parliament-driving, they made good their numbers, and very much embarrassed the King's affairs. . . . It used to be a hard match between the Court and Country parties which should prevail, the one to carry through and the other to retard the passing of a money Bill. . . . It was a sort of symbol or watchword of the party to say, we must hinder supplies. And the being for or against a money Bill was an infallible criterion of all good and evil in men. Nothing but the latter could qualify a Country-party man.' [2] Pepys suggests the same idea when he records that he was informed that 'all the country gentlemen are publicly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and they do doubt everything that they propose.' [3] Sir John Reresby, writing of the year 1673, gives an account of the 'Country' and 'Court' parties which may be said to represent very fairly their significance in contemporary opinion. 'The former,' he says, 'pretended in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people, in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen; to assert the religion and Government by law established; the latter pretended to the same, but thought the King was to have a competent income, and to be invested with a due power for the exercise of his regal office without having too great a dependence on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father.' [4] The first House of Commons of Charles II. must therefore be conceived of as composed of a large majority of

[1] North's *Examen.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] Pepys's *Diary.*
[4] *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby,* pp. 22–23.

supporters of the Government, together with an Opposition, comparatively few in numbers, but vigilant and tending constantly to grow.

An assembly such as this was a powerful instrument for carrying Tory measures and imposing Tory doctrines on the country. But it would be an error to suppose that the House was nothing but a pliant implement in the hands of those who led it. There were some Tories, it is true, who would have limited its energy within a very narrow sphere. Sir Robert Filmer, for example, held the view that the Commons consent only, that the Lords counsel, while the King himself ordains the laws. It must also be admitted that the House could on occasion, if it suited it, be exceedingly subservient. 'We are all venal cowards, except some few,' Andrew Marvell once bitterly exclaimed. It was he, too, who described the House as 'thin and obsequious' and as grown 'odious to the people.' [1] Yet, as will hereafter be seen, though it might be deeply imbued with Tory sentiments, the House had its own ideas of Tory policy, and it never intended to abate one jot or tittle of its own power and individuality. And in holding this intention it was conscious of possessing the approval of the nation. For, as was said in a pamphlet written when Charles II. was wrangling with his Parliaments, 'English spirits resent no affronts so highly as those which are done to their representatives.'

How far Parliaments elected under the conditions then prevailing truly represented the feeling of the country it is impossible to conjecture. Sometimes pecuniary allurements overcame political convictions; but as party passions ran high and electoral contests were vigorously waged, it must be supposed that, roughly speaking, the Commons reflected substantially the mind of the country, or at all events that by their acts they represented the majority. For a minority in a State has been well likened to a rejected alternative in the deliberative decision of an individual man. Once elected, members appear at this time to have acted with a good deal of independence and to have paid very little regard to their constituents. The pleasant relations which existed between Andrew Marvell and the borough of Hull were probably exceptional. Writing to the mayor and

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 326, 351, 395.

aldermen in 1660 he said, ' 'Tis much refreshment to me after our long sittings, daily to give you account what we do ' ; and in 1667 he wrote to thank them for their ' kind present of our Hull liquor.' [1] The old custom of payment of members by their constituencies had already fallen into desuetude.

The existence of a ' cash nexus ' between electors and their representatives might possibly have tended to produce more intimate relations. They were, in fact, not very close. It is true that in the debate on the Exclusion Bill so strong a Tory as Sir Leoline Jenkins—moved, it must be supposed, by the exigency of the occasion—argued that members of Parliament had only a limited and derivative power, and that in such an important matter as that before the House they should take instructions from their principals. Yet when in 1680 it was proposed that the votes of the House should be printed, he opposed the motion, though it was notorious that the votes were known and discussed in every coffee-house. Such a proceeding would, he said, be ' against the gravity of the assembly and it is a sort of appeal to the people.' [2] It was resolved, however, that the votes and proceedings of the House should be printed. But if individual members ill brooked interference from their constituents, parties acting collectively endeavoured to influence the House. A curious instance is related by Lord Guilford. He says that the King's Head Club—an organisation of the ' Country ' party—sent some of its representatives to stand about the bar of the House and to take care that ' all the members should be minded to repair to their seats before the question should be put,' and that in this way they influenced the results of the divisions and brought about a dissolution.' [3] If the story is a true one, there must have been ways and means of influencing Parliament which are no longer open to the people.

The House of Commons was, it is evident, very different in its character and habits from that which meets to-day. But it was then, as now, by far the most important political institution, and therefore the most powerful of all instruments from the party point of view. As an organ of Toryism the first

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's edition), vol. ii. p. 200.
[2] Wynne's *Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins*, vol. i.
[3] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 390.

Parliament of Charles II. was certainly unrivalled, and its modes of procedure, considered from this point of view, have some interest and importance.

If the two Houses of Parliament were of importance as manifestations of Toryism, even more so was what would now be called the Government with which Charles II. began his rule. It will be of some interest to turn for a moment to the *personnel* of the first Ministry with which the Restoration was inaugurated.

As a coalition it was composed in fairly equal parts of Cavaliers and Presbyterians. Hyde, Ormonde, Nicholas, Southampton and Middleton represented the first; Monk, Manchester, Morrice, and Robartes the second. The various offices were thus distributed. Hyde—soon to be known as Earl of Clarendon—was Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Steward; Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morrice, Secretaries of State; and the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer. Lord Middleton was sent as High Commissioner to Scotland. Monk, who was soon made Duke of Albemarle and loaded with rewards, was made Commander-General of all the forces; the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the Wardrobe; while Lord Robartes was sent to command the troops in Ireland. The office of Lord High Admiral was conferred upon the King's brother, the Duke of York. There were others, who held no office, but were admitted to the deliberations of the Council, of whom Colepeper was perhaps the most distinguished. 'A man,' says Clarendon, 'of great parts, a very sharp and present wit, and an universal understanding.'[1] He lived very much in the confidence of Charles's most intimate advisers, until very shortly he closed a career of much utility.

Of these Ministers Clarendon stands out prominently as the most impressive figure, and of all actors in the early history of Toryism he is perhaps the most important. As the leader of the Cavalier party at the Restoration, he inspired their policy with his counsels and impressed it with his will. Of the conservatism of his day there was no more admirable type. His political sentiments, though perfectly sincere and warmly felt,

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.

were never rancorous nor extravagant; their current flowed on steadily, like the Thames in Denham's famous lines:

Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

In a word, as the most eminent representative of Toryism at its best at a critical moment of its history, he challenges a more detailed consideration than any other statesman of his time.

There was no man whose past history better fitted him to undertake the difficult task of the settlement of affairs at the Restoration than Edward Hyde. The second son of a country gentleman of good family, he was born at Dinton, near Salisbury, in 1608. He was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, with a view to his taking holy orders; but his elder brother dying, it was decided that he should study for the bar, and he entered the Middle Temple, of which his uncle, Sir Nicholas Hyde, the Chief Justice, was Treasurer. The bent of his mind, however, lay rather towards letters than the law. 'He could not,' he says, 'bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, but rather loved polite learning and history, in which, especially in the Roman, he had been always conversant.' As a young man of good address, and, to use his own expression, of some pregnancy of wit, he soon made many friends among the persons best worth knowing of his time. To have enjoyed the friendship of Jonson, Selden, Falkland, Waller, Carew, Chillingworth, Sheldon, Earle, and Hales was in itself a liberal education. With becoming modesty he tells us that he 'never was so proud, or thought himself so good a man, as when he was the worst man in the company.' In 1640 he entered the House of Commons as member for Wotton Basset—an event which may be said to have been the turning-point in his career. From the exclusive pursuit of his profession he was diverted into politics, and by his industry and eloquence he quickly made for himself a parliamentary reputation. At first he took the popular side in the great constitutional struggle. He blamed the judges for their treatment of the ship-money affair, calling to mind the excellent saying that the judges resemble the lions under the throne of Solomon—'Under the throne in obedience, but yet lions.' Again, when Strafford was impeached, he moved that he should be kept a close prisoner in the Tower. But he was

soon alienated from the Parliamentary party by what he deemed to be the extravagance of their demands. Now it was that he became the confidential adviser and trusted friend of Charles I., and he it was who drafted for the King some of those State papers which turned out to be of first-rate historical importance. During the Civil War 'Ned Hyde,' as the King loved to call him, served the royal cause with fidelity and zeal. But it was all in vain, when, as he bitterly remarked, 'one side seemed to fight for monarchy with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the King with all the principles of monarchy.' After the execution of the King he followed the fortunes of the royal family in exile, and served a fallen cause with a self-sacrificing faithfulness and an unfaltering resolution that it would be hard to over-praise. It is not too much to say that it was due in a large measure to his tact and his moderating counsels that the royal cause was not wrecked beyond recovery and that the Restoration was made possible.[1]

Such, in very brief outline, was the career of Clarendon prior to the year 1660, and it is evident that he was marked out to play a leading part in the new order of affairs. Nominally Lord Chancellor, he was in reality the first Minister of the Crown. It is as a statesman and not as a lawyer and a judge that he is remembered by posterity. His strictly legal work was of secondary importance only, and may be passed over without comment. It is as the great exponent of Tory principles, and as the man who moulded and informed the reconstructed constitution with his spirit, that he is of interest to the student of the history of Toryism.

What, then, it may be asked, was the intellectual stock-in-trade, so to speak, with which he advanced to grapple with the grave political questions which he was called upon to handle? In the first place, it must be said that his mind was essentially Tory in its texture. His outlook on the world was theological. He saw in the sequence of events not a chain of causes and effects, but the 'hand and judgment' and the 'immediate finger and wrath' of the Almighty; and with perfect consistency he placed the misfortunes of his country among those 'signal mortifications' and the 'castigation of Heaven' which follow

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

hard upon the heels of luxury and pride. This was 'the method of God's justice.' His intellect, in a word, had not yet quite emerged from what in a previous chapter has been styled the theological stage. Then he had that love of order, subordination, and authority which is pre-eminently distinctive of the Tory frame of mind. He put a high value on stately ceremonials, 'the outworks, which,' he thought, 'preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal.' Religious sectarianism he particularly disliked because he thought that it stigmatised 'all forms of reverence and respect, as relics and marks of superstition,' as was evident from his observation that children asked no longer a blessing of their parents; that young women abandoned their modesty and circumspection; that the daughters of the nobility made unequal marriages; and that the relationship of master and servant was in a state of dissolution. To a man of Clarendon's temperament all this, whether real or imaginary, was peculiarly abhorrent.

Then, if not exactly a religious man in the strict sense of the word, he was at any rate ecclesiastically minded. Theological study was one of the supreme interests of his life, as his *View and Survey* of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, his *Animadversions* upon Mr. Cressy's book, his *Religion and Policy*, and his *Meditations on the Psalms* sufficiently prove. The religious opinions of Hobbes—'odious,' he did not hesitate to call them—aroused his keenest opposition, and he used his influence to secure the exclusion from the Court of the 'Father of Atheists,' who, it was alleged, had infected the *entourage* of the Queen and the Duke of York, and 'would have done his best to poison the King's Court.' His piety perhaps was slightly ostentatious. Speaking of what he calls his 'three vacations and retreats'—those periods of exile in Jersey, Spain, and France—he tells us that he valued them because it was then that God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions and to know himself and other men much better. But he made no pretence to superior sanctity of life; indeed, he candidly confessed that in his younger days at least he 'indulged his palate very much, and took even some delight in eating and drinking well, but without any approach to luxury, and in truth, rather discoursed like an Epicure than was one.' If we are to believe

Evelyn's description of him as 'of a jolly temper after the old English fashion,' he must have been a sociable and companionable man. In keenness of observation and insight into character he must have been without a rival; for the vivid and imperishable portraits which he has given us in his History have well earned for him the titles of 'the modern Plutarch' and 'the Chancellor of human nature.' Though his prejudices were strong, his wide reading and great experience of affairs saved him from falling into meanness or pettiness of spirit. He could be on friendly terms with Hobbes, and it may well be that he exerted his great influence to save Milton from the vengeance of his foes.[1] He could even give a word in praise of Cromwell, for though he loathed his public actions, he was willing to admit the greatness of the man. No good man, he said, would have had Cromwell's aspirations, nor would anyone but a man of great parts have succeeded in his aims. In saying that 'his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad,' Clarendon displayed a magnanimity that under all the circumstances was wonderful.[2]

It remains to consider more exactly Clarendon's political opinions; for if the essence of Toryism be the promotion of strong and concentrated government, it becomes of first-rate importance to inquire how far those opinions tended to promote it. What they were Clarendon has left us in no doubt.

He had, in the first place, the root of the matter in him in his love of legality and constitutional methods, and his reverence for what he called 'that great and admirable mystery the law.' His father, he tells us, had warned him against the 'disposition then observable among lawyers to stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the subject.' The warning was not thrown away; but he was equally averse from any straining of the law to the prejudice of the Crown. To use his own words, 'he had a most zealous esteem and reverence for the constitution of the government, and believed it so equally poised that if the least branch of the prerogative was torn off or parted with, the subject suffered by it, and that his right was impaired, and

[1] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 188.

[2] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and *Autobiography*; Lister's *Life of Clarendon*.

he was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its just limits, and thought its prerogative hurt by it.'[1] That belief was one of the corner-stones of Clarendon's public life. Though determined to maintain the royal prerogative unimpaired on the one hand, he was not willing to allow of its enlargement on the other. 'He resolved,' says Burnet, 'not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars. . . . He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the Long Parliament from Charles I. to be repealed. But he had no mind to put the king out of the necessity of having recourse to his parliament.'[2] That statement represents very fairly his position. The prerogative, for instance, of indulgence, he thought, was one that might be properly maintained, and he accordingly supported the inclusion of a clause permitting the King a dispensing power in the Act of Uniformity. The whole question of this power of dispensation he regarded as one of expediency, and, therefore, when Charles II. wished to suspend the penal laws in favour of the Papists, Clarendon resisted the proposal. But against what he conceived to be the encroachments of the House of Commons he set his face like flint—an unyielding attitude which perhaps more than anything else contributed to his fall.

When, for instance, the House of Commons began the practice of appropriating supplies to particular objects, he opposed it as an entrenchment upon the prerogative; and when in 1666 it appointed a committee to inquire into the expenditure in the navy, he thought its action an unwarrantable presumption.[3] The appointment by the House of Commissioners to superintend the expenditure of public money was, we are told by Pepys, 'mightily ill taken by all the Court party, as a mortal blow that struck deep into the King's prerogative'; and the King was strongly urged by Clarendon to resist it.[4] 'This was,' said the Chancellor, 'such a new encroachment as had no bottom.' For the Commons, indeed, he seems to have had an unaccountable contempt. Sir William Coventry, at any rate, was told by Pepys that Clarendon imagined that he could with his speeches

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part ii.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i.
[3] Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. i. pp. 289–291.
[4] Pepys's *Diary*.

make the Parliament give what money he pleased, and that he had advised the King to pass the Act of Indemnity although his revenue had not been settled, because he believed that 'he could have the command of Parliaments for ever,' but that he had found out his mistake. He said himself, indeed, that he had warned the King that 'he could not be too indulgent in defence of the privileges of parliament,' but that he must not suffer them 'to extend their jurisdiction.' Yet he told his Majesty that the power of Parliament was 'more or less or nothing as he pleased to make it,' that 'it was yet in his power to govern them, but that if they found it was in theirs to govern him, nobody knew what the end would be.' The language he used in the House of Lords was hardly less imprudent, and he admits that he spoke of the Commons 'with less reverence than they expected.' It was alleged—whether truly or not it is impossible to say—that he said that there was 'no further use of parliaments'; that they were 'a foolish constitution, and not fit to govern by'; that 'it could not be imagined that three or four hundred country gentlemen could be either prudent men or statesmen'; that they were 'useless and inconsiderable,' and 'only fit to give money.'[1] Clarendon seems to have been actually jealous of the popular assembly. He thought that 'they were invited to meddle and interpose in matters out of their own sphere,' and that, in comparison with the Lords, they 'drew the eyes of the Kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good.' It is upon the whole no matter for surprise that, as Sir William Coventry said, he became 'odious to the Parliament'—which, in fact, had come to hate him. The avowed principle that 'the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till the King's regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated' was undoubtedly the dominating factor in determining his policy. At a time when the extent of the prerogative was much in question, this was a fact of much importance.[2]

If the maintenance of the prerogative was one pillar of

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 23; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 382.

[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Article on Sir W. Coventry.

Clarendon's political system, his unalterable belief in the rightfulness and expediency of a State Church was the other. To use his own words, 'he did really believe the Church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of peace, of any Church in the world . . . and therefore he always opposed, upon the impulsions of conscience, all mutations of the Church.' State and Church were, to use his own expressive metaphor, 'so wrought and interwoven together, and, in truth, so incorporated in each other, that, like Hippocrates' twins, they cannot but laugh and cry together.'[1] The protection and propagation of the Christian religion was, he thought, committed to the care of secular princes. What otherwise could be the meaning of the text, 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers and queens thy nursing mothers'? The forms and circumstances of religion, he argued, belong to temporal jurisdiction. 'It is not in the power or liberty of private or particular men to choose these circumstances of religion for themselves, or to use what forms or ceremonies they please in the exercise of it.' These forms and ceremonies, indeed, become when enjoined by authority, 'so much of the very substance and exercise of religion that we can no more reject the one than the other . . . things that were of themselves indifferent cease to be indifferent, and become necessary, when they are by lawful authority commanded to be practised.'[2] The conviction that conformity to an established Church was indispensable to order explains, if it does not always excuse, many of his actions. It was doubtless in order to weld State and Church together in the strongest links he could devise that he insisted on the restoration of the Bishops to the House of Lords in the teeth of the violent opposition of the King, and that he arranged, by agreement with Archbishop Sheldon, for the surrender by the clergy of the right of taxing themselves—one of the greatest constitutional changes ever made without an Act of Parliament. It was alleged, indeed, that he showed himself 'more the bishops' friend than the Church's,' and we are told by the same authority —Burnet—that in return for the support given him by the

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part ii.
[2] Clarendon's *Religion and Policy*, vol. i. pp. 1–5.

bishops over the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York, he delivered himself up to their counsel in the affairs of the Church and so did whatever they had a mind to. Clarendon's own account is rather different. He tells us that the bishops thought that he did not do enough for the suppression of dissent, and that this belief on their part 'produced a greater coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater resentment from him, who thought he had deserved better from their function and their persons, than was in a long time, if ever, perfectly reconciled.' The truth probably is that Clarendon cherished a rather poor opinion of the clerical capacity for business, and that he was not always careful to conceal it. He has at any rate recorded his belief that the clergy 'understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can write and read.' But that did not shatter his confidence in the value of the Church as a political institution.

Such, in brief outline, were the settled convictions with which Clarendon approached his great task of reconstruction, and whatever may be thought of those convictions there can be no question that he brought with him many qualifications for its successful execution. He possessed, in the first place, an unsatiable appetite for work. This was, indeed, if anything, too great. For it was charged against him that 'he took too much upon him and meddled with everything.' It was said that he was 'an absolute favourite, and the chief or the only minister'; and though he anxiously disclaimed the title, he did not escape the odium which he was aware it would bring upon him.'[2] Even his political work was not enough, and in his capacity of Chancellor of Oxford University it was said that he gave an unusual amount of trouble' by his continual letters sent thereunto.'[3] Then by the universal consent of his contemporaries he possessed in a high degree those oratorical gifts which make a man a power in parliament. 'He spoke well,' says Burnet, 'his style had no flaw in it, but had a just mixture of wit and sense, only he spoke too copiously.' He had, says Evelyn, 'an eloquent tongue,' and spoke as though he were playing with his audience and giving them information. Pepys,

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time* and Clarendon's *Autobiography*.
[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [3] Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. iii.

who went to hear him, remarks in his quaint way, 'he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest easiness and authority that ever I saw man in my life.' Then he had a sense of dignity, which was not without its value in the kind of society in which he had to move. 'Nobly censorious were his utterances,' as Ben Jonson said of Bacon. He 'kept up,' says Evelyn, 'the form and substance of things in the nation with more solemnity than some would have had'; there was some 'gravity and forme' maintained. He had, indeed, many great and signal merits.

The sun of Clarendon's genius shone so brightly in the heavens that the lesser political luminaries seemed to pale their ineffectual fires before the effulgence of its rays. Yet among the colleagues who shared his labours there were some at least of sufficient interest and importance to demand a passing notice. Their lineaments, indeed, have gradually faded; so that it is not easy to present a vivid picture of the manner of men they were. But in a history of Toryism some attempts to recapture such traces as are left will at all events be justifiable.

Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was, after Clarendon himself, the Minister who filled the most important place, and was the most distinguished for his character and talents. Born in 1607, he was educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford. In the political troubles of his time he played a moderating part; for though he took the Royalist side, he opposed the absolutist policy of Charles I. and Strafford. As the trusted adviser of his father, it was fitting that Charles II. should at once make him Lord Treasurer and Privy Councillor. No one certainly better deserved the confidence of his Sovereign. 'He was,' says Clarendon, 'a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy. . . . He was a man of great sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, or more efficaciously with his hearers. . . . He was a person of extraordinary parts, of faculties very discerning and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery without the least affectation of words, for he always spoke best on the sudden.'

He was 'not only an exact observer of justice, but so clear-sighted a discerner of all the circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent colour could impose upon him; and so sincere and impartial a judgment that no prejudice to the person of any man made him less awake to his cause. . . . He was in his nature melancholic and reserved in his conversation, except towards those with whom he was very well acquainted, with whom he was not only cheerful, but on occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged over-much ease to himself . . . but no man could keep his mind longer bent and take more pains in it . . . his person was of small stature; his courage, as all his other faculties very great. . . . He was a man of great exemplary virtue and piety and very regular in his devotions.'[1] Higher praise than that it would be difficult to give; yet Clarendon has been drawn into no exaggeration by the partiality of friendship. For even his political opponents bear witness to Southampton's integrity and sense of justice. 'His judgment,' says Marvell, 'might well have been reckoned for the standard of prudence and loyalty.'[2] 'Again,' says Burnet, 'his great parts together with his great merit made him to be now considered as one of the first men in England. . . . He was made Treasurer and Clarendon was proud of his friendship, and valued himself upon it.'[3]

Southampton's political opinions, though Tory, were tempered with a detachment of mind that enabled him to rise superior to the vulgar prejudices of his party. Nor even with Clarendon was he always in agreement. He blamed him, for instance, for causing a mistaken impression of the King's character to prevail, and for not setting a larger revenue for the Crown. He, indeed, more accurately gauged the disposition of Parliament than Clarendon, who imagined that it would vote any money that he wanted. Then he was decidedly more tolerant. James II., to be sure, charged both him and Clarendon with opposing the King's wishes to grant to the dissenters 'a modified toleration'

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.

[2] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's edition), vol. iv. p. 305.

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 163; Supplement to the *History* (edited by H. C. Foxcroft), pp. 57–58.

—which perhaps he may have done. But he certainly opposed some of the most obnoxious provisions of the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act. 'He was,' says Burnet, 'for healing the Church by concessions on both hands, but when he saw that all the affair was put in Sheldon's hands, he withdrew from the meetings that were held about it and declared against their methods.' He set his face against anything that seemed to savour of arbitrary government, so that he viewed even the raising of the King's guards with great suspicion.' He began,' says Burnet, 'to apprehend it much and complained of it severely to Clarendon, and told him plainly that a white staff could not corrupt him and make him serve in designs that tended to the subduing his country and the governing it by a military power.' Then he was a strong Churchman; 'he had,' says Clarendon, 'a perfect detestation of all the Presbyterian principles,' and was extremely suspicious of 'the power and malignity of the Roman Catholics.'

But whatever may be thought of his political opinions, there can be no question of Southampton's splendid integrity of character. He brought with him to the Treasury not only courage and ability, but a fixed determination to check abuses which had grown to be a custom. At the very beginning he stipulated for a fixed salary of eight thousand pounds a year, upon the understanding that he was to offer no offices for sale. He endeavoured to establish a sound system of finance by bringing the expenses of the Court within the limits of the revenue—a hopeless enterprise under such a king as Charles II. The King, indeed, was thought to be afraid of him, and to have been wishful to dismiss him, only forbearing 'because he feared the scandal of removing such a man.' For, as Clarendon warned him, it would have looked ill, if he had rid himself of a Minister who was 'the most loved and reverenced by the people for his exemplar fidelity and wisdom.' Southampton, in fact, set a standard that for his age was extraordinarily high. He 'surrendered,' said the Countess of Devonshire, writing in 1663, 'his pension and all the benefits of his place; he has been exemplary to all others, all pensions being to cease. I believe it will be an example of great frugality to the whole nation.' But it was all in vain. Dispirited by failure, he gradually withdrew

from active participation in affairs, and left the conduct of his office to his secretary, Sir Philip Warwick. His sensitive nature doubtless shrank from contact with the rude political world into which destiny had plunged him.[1]

The names of Clarendon and Southampton will for ever go down the stream of history together. Though they occasionally differed, they admired and respected one another. How highly Clarendon thought of the Lord Treasurer has been already seen. Southampton, too, has given us in a sentence the character of Clarendon. 'He is a true Protestant and an honest Englishman, and while he enjoys power we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion.' It is in similar terms that Bolingbroke makes mention of them both: 'those great and good men,' to whom, he thinks, the preservation of English liberties was due.[2] There is nothing perhaps in the history of the Restoration period that is pleasanter to contemplate than their frank and intimate relations. Their dispositions were nearly similar, but Southampton perhaps lacked the grit and force which carried Clarendon further. Guizot, in drawing an interesting parallel between them and Turgot and Malesherbes, has suggested wherein the difference between the two great Englishmen lay. Turgot, the counterpart of Clarendon, was 'full of ardour, faith, hope, and perseverance'; Malesherbes, the counterpart of Southampton, was 'equally sincere but weaker, more easily discouraged, saying "Turgot will not let me retire; he does not perceive that we shall be both turned out."'[3]

James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, brought to the Restoration Government the lustre and prestige of a great name. His fidelity to the royal cause, even in that age of self-sacrificing heroism, was unsurpassed; so that, says Clarendon, 'having thus merited as much as a subject can do from a prince, he had much more credit and esteem with the King than other men.' Of all those about the Court he was 'the person of the greatest quality, estate, and reputation'; and Clarendon himself admits that it

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report xiv., part ix., The Papers of the Earl of Onslow, p. 461; Report xv., parts vii., viii., The Papers of the Marquis of Ailesbury, p. 171.

[2] Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*, letter ii.

[3] *The Married Life of Rachel, Lady Russell*, translated from the French of M. Guizot.

was to the Duke's friendship he owed in a large measure his own position.[1] High-minded, dignified, but courteous and easy of address, this great nobleman had an engaging personality. 'He was,' says Roger North, 'of rigorous honour' and 'an inexpugnable loyalist.'[2] Burnet describes him as 'a man of a pleasant conversation,' who 'lived high and at a vast expense,' and wrote 'the best of any man that has no learning' that he ever knew. If he had no learning, he must certainly have had wit; for it is related that he would sometimes pass a night with Dryden and other literary men. The poet acknowledged his indebtedness by the dedication to the Duke of his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, and still more by his reference to him under the name of Barzillai in his *Absalom and Achitophel.*

> In exile with his godlike prince he mourned,
> For him he suffered and with him returned.
> The court he practised, not the courtier's art;
> Large was his wealth but larger was his heart.

At the Restoration, Ormonde was at once admitted to that select and confidential circle which formed, so to speak, a kind of inner Cabinet, and in the last resort dictated the conduct of affairs. First, and for a brief period, he was Lord High Steward of England; but it is as Viceroy of Ireland from 1661 to 1669, and from 1677 to 1683, that he will take his place in history. For twenty years or more in Irish affairs he played a leading part, and he did it so magnificently that, wealthy as he was, he became embarrassed in estate. His Duchess, indeed, in 1668 actually pawned a pair of diamond pendants that were said to be worth seven hundred pounds.[3] Of his conduct of affairs in Ireland it would be irrelevant to speak at length, but that he was at any rate impartial may be gathered from the testimony of Burnet, who says that 'both sides complained of him.' And he adds very justly, that 'it is a very good argument for a man, when both extremes are displeased at him.' There was certainly no statesman who throughout the reign of Charles II. moved so conspicuously and continuously in the public eye; for, to quote

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography.* [2] North's *Life of Sir Dudley North.*

[3] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, The Papers of the Duke of Ormonde, Report vii. p. 753, and Introduction, p. 16.

Burnet again, 'as Clarendon and Southampton were great men in England, the Duke of Ormonde was the only man in Ireland and had likewise a large share in the affairs of England.'[1]

The two Secretaries of State, Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morrice, were thrown much into the shade by the great men under whom they served. Sir Edward, who was born in 1593, was already at the Restoration well advanced in years. He had lived much in France, and spent a useful career in the public service as Secretary to Lord Zouche, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and to his successor, the Duke of Buckingham, as Secretary of the Admiralty and as Clerk of the Council. He was, says Clarendon, 'a very honest and industrious man, and always versed in business, a person of great merit and integrity, a man of general good reputation with all men, of unquestionable integrity and long experience in the service of the Crown . . . a man of great gravity, and without any ambitions or private designs.'[2] He had, indeed, 'never been in his youth a man of quick and sudden parts,' though he was 'full of industry and application, and always versed in business and all the forms of dispatch.' But these excellent qualities did not save the 'good old secretary' from dismissal. Old age and infirmity were pretexts enough when his place was wanted for another, and in 1662 his resignation was demanded. The King, who conferred the vacant office on Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, offered Sir Edward ten thousand pounds and a barony by way of consolation.[3]

His colleague in the Secretaryship, Sir William Morrice, had scarcely been Tory in his sympathies, for he was related to Monk, who held a high opinion of him, and had been much influenced by his assurance that the people in the West of England desired the King's return. As the intermediary who, in conference with Sir John Grenville, had arranged terms for the Restoration of the King, he was too important a personage to be overlooked, and on the King's return he was at once knighted, made a Secretary of State and a Privy Councillor. If the story be

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, and Supplement edited by H. C. Foxcroft.

[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.

[3] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. vi., The Papers of J. M. Heathcote, p. 54.

true that he would not allow anyone in his house to say grace except himself, saying that he was both king and priest, he must have been somewhat eccentric in his character. Though a good Greek and Latin scholar, he was ignorant of modern languages, and the extreme Tories, who disliked him, found here a pretext for a complaint that led to his retirement in 1668. It should be added that Burnet appears to have thought but poorly of his abilities, and of those of Nicholas as well. They were, he says, 'both virtuous men but very weak,' and he adds a remark that has just a tinge of cynicism: 'I have observed that the Court can bear with one indifferent secretary, and seem to be pleased to have one that is weak and tractable . . . but they can hardly bear two very weak ones at a time.' [1] It would be probably near the truth to say that the King liked a pliant minister, and that Nicholas and Morrice lost their places for this reason, among others, that they were not pliable enough.

Such were the men into whose hands was entrusted the direction of affairs at this momentous epoch. The rebounding wave of Toryism rushed headlong forward with resistless impetus and power, and it required strong and skilful hands to restrain it within bounds. The first ministers of Charles II., if not great constructive statesmen, were at all events not unworthy of the cause they were called upon to serve. Any appreciation of them, however, would be very far from perfect which failed to take into account their relations to their Sovereign. It is scarcely, indeed, an exaggeration to assert that in those days the King was, as an administrative officer, a more important person than any of his ministers. They were at any rate his servants, and he, on his side, was expected by the nation to command. The constitutional king of modern days was only in the making; the notion was but faintly grasped and dimly bodied forth. Charles himself had a very precise idea of his own place in the government machine. He desired, in the first place, to control all matters of high policy, so far as that was possible; and in the second, that his ministers should be responsible to himself alone and not to parliament. With an instinctive recognition of the truth of Cromwell's saying, that in England the government

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, Supplement edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 66.

consists of 'Parliament and a man,' he had a strong wish that he himself should be the 'man.' On this point he left those about him in no doubt. He liked to think of himself as his own *premier ministre*—to use the term he borrowed from the French. Writing to his sister Henrietta he said: 'One thing I desire you to take as much as you can out of the King of France's head, that my Ministers are anything but what I will have them . . . whatsoever opinion my Ministers had been of, I would and do always follow my own judgment, and if they take any other measures than that, they will see themselves mistaken in the end.' When the council devised by Sir William Temple was actually created, he quietly remarked, 'They have put a set of men about me, but they shall know nothing.'[1] Again, in reply to a body of petitioners from London and Westminster, he roundly declared: 'I look on myself as the head of the government, and mean to do what I think best for myself and my people.' This profession of political faith—which was in fact the quintessence of Toryism—was not generally unpopular. So far from that, the nation would have very much preferred to see the management of State affairs in the hands of the King than in those of any single minister. Just as in France the people kicked against the rule of a Richelieu or a Mazarin, so in England they loathed the very thought of a Grand Vizier. Clarendon rightly gauged the temper of the nation when he remarked that he knew 'how averse the nation was from approving an exorbitant power in any subject,' and that it 'would not bear a favourite, nor any one man, who should out of his ambition engross to himself the disposal of public matters.' The conception of a 'prime minister' or 'premier' was only gradually evolved in the face of a good deal of angry prejudice. Clarendon says that it was a title 'newly translated out of French into English,' and 'was not enough understood to be liked, and every man would detest it for the burden it was attended with.' Nevertheless it filled a need and came to stay.[2] Burnet called Clarendon 'the chief or the only minister,'[3] and Roger North spoke of him as a 'prime minister of State.'[4] It is,

[1] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, pp. 231, 359.
[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 175 [4] North's *Examen*.

however, astonishing to find how much opposition the term excited. In the debate, for instance, in the House of Commons in 1678 on the King's answer to the Address, Mr. Sacheverell observed: 'The King has lived abroad, and we see a premier minister does all after the fashion there, and a parliament is of little value. The King calls for your advice, and then 'tis despised.' The same speaker on another occasion attributed the misfortunes of his country to the fact that things were 'managed by a premier minister of State.' Similarly, Sir Henry Capel declared in 1681 'that our government will not admit of a Premier Minister of State, to sway all things.' [1]

Whatever wishes to be his own minister Charles II. may once have cherished, the time which he could spare from his pleasures was quite inadequate for carrying out his purpose. Still, a second alternative remained to him: namely, that his ministers should be responsible to him alone. On that point he was determined, so far as Charles's nature would allow him to keep to any resolution whatsoever. 'He had,' says Burnet, 'made such observations on the French government, that he thought a King who might be checked, or have his ministers called to account by a parliament was but a king in name.' [2] The maxim that 'the King can do no wrong' is a useful one for sovereigns, and Charles certainly was not blind to its utility. He might have learned it from *The Treatise on Government* which his old tutor, the Duke of Newcastle, wrote and presented to him during his exile. The principle, which De Quincey called 'perhaps the finest discovery that was ever made in the theory of Government,' and Ranke 'the foundation and corner-stone of the English constitution,' was already acted on by implication. What Hallam calls 'a prudent fiction of the English law' embodied a reality. But though Charles would probably not have admitted that there was any legal limitation to his powers, he was quite willing to acquiesce in a maxim that might on occasion be exceedingly convenient. The witty repartee that

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iv. p. 368; vol. vii. p. 51.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 169. Cp. Mr. Sidney Low's *The Governance of England*, p. 154; for the statement that the first use of the term 'prime minister' in an official document was the description of Lord Beaconsfield as such in the Treaty of Berlin (1878), cp. also Lord Rosebery's book on Sir Robert Peel, p. 30.

he made on hearing the well-known epitaph which Rochester composed, revealed, as in a flash, his real opinions :—

> Here lies our Sovereign Lord and King,
> Whose word no man relies on,
> Who never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one.

'Quite right,' he replied; 'my words are my own, my acts are my Ministers'.' It was, in fact, in order to maintain his ministers' responsibility to himself that he struggled so persistently to preserve his prerogative of pardon. He perceived, what they also saw but too clearly, the truth of the aphorism turned by Halifax, that 'it is dangerous to serve where the master hath the privilege not to be blamed.'[1] His desire to be able to protect his ministers from parliamentary impeachment was creditable to his feelings, and the claim was one which those who bore great responsibilities very naturally supported. 'Satisfy yourself,' said Arlington, 'that you do your duty by serving the King according to his direction.' 'In no case,' said Danby, 'ought a Minister of State to be made a sacrifice of State to the will of the people.' Those were the conditions under which ministers at this time desired to serve; and it was in the person of Danby that the whole question gave rise to a grave constitutional crisis. When that powerful Minister was impeached for his share in the secret treaty with France of 1678, he tried to shelter himself behind the King's commands. The letter, he declared, which he wrote to Montagu, the British Ambassador in Paris, was 'upon the subject of peace and war, wherein his Majesty alone is at all times sole judge, and ought to be obeyed not only by any of his Ministers of State but by all his subjects'; [2] and he pleaded the royal pardon as a bar to the impeachment of the Commons. The King, on his side, was determined to obtain his own ends at any cost. When the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Chancellor, doubted the legality of such a pardon, Charles took the great seal from his hands and himself sealed the patent. Handing it back to the Chancellor, he said, 'Take it, my Lord, I know not where to bestow it better.' Nor did he hesitate to justify his

[1] Halifax's *Political Thoughts and Reflections.*
[2] O. Airy's *Charles the Second,* p. 348.

action before Parliament itself. In a speech before both Houses he declared: 'If there be any defect in the pardon, I will give it him ten times over, rather than it shall not be full and sufficient for the purpose I design it. I have never denied it to any of my servants or Ministers when they quitted their places, as Lord Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Buckingham well know.' [1] It was, among other reasons, in order to save Danby that in 1679 he dissolved his first Parliament. But even that event did not settle the dispute.

While Charles claimed that the Ministers of State should be responsible to himself, Parliament on the other hand took an entirely different view. It demanded that they should be responsible directly to itself. The difference disclosed a rift, which, if not closed, might soon become a chasm. Both King and Parliament were in accord in holding the distinctive Tory view that there should be a strong and concentrated government; but they were far from being agreed as to how the powers of the government should be distributed among its several parts. The question was essentially one of the ultimate seat of sovereignty. The Toryism of the King was not quite the same thing as the Toryism of Parliament. While he thought that a limited monarchy was incompatible with strong government, Parliament held that such was not the case. The House of Commons, in particular, held that there need not be any diminution in the vigour of a government in which they held a predominating share. And that share they were resolved to have. It was from this determination that there arose the apparently paradoxical position that the first Parliament of Charles II.—which was probably one of the most strongly Tory Parliaments ever elected—was in continual conflict with a monarch who held Tory doctrines to the full. Parliament was ostensibly willing to allow the Crown the possession of great powers; as when, for instance, in 1661 it passed an Act which made it a punishable offence for anyone to assert that there was a legislative capacity in either or both Houses without the King. It professed, indeed, to be jealous of the privileges of the Crown against the encroachments of its ministers; it hated Clarendon for his

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. p. 19; *The History of Burley-on-the-Hill*, by Pearl Finch.

supposed assumptions of authority, and it was a principal count in the impeachment of Danby that he had encroached on the royal powers. But what the Commons deemed an encroachment by a minister was in their own case only the assertion of a privilege or right. The dispute that arose over the spheres of power that belonged to the Crown and to Parliament respectively is one of great importance in the history of Toryism. It marks a step in its development, and a milestone on the road that led from the irresponsible rule of a monarch to parliamentary government.

The period from the Restoration to the Revolution is one of great importance from the constitutional point of view. There was a transitional state of things between the time when the executive power was little bounded, and that when it could only be exercised with the consent and co-operation of Parliament. There was, moreover, a problem to be solved: that is to say, how Parliament could control the executive without itself undertaking the administration of affairs. Throughout this quarter of a century the change was rapidly, if not always visibly, proceeding, and a solution of the problem was gradually being reached. What may be said to be a new phase of Toryism emerged—a Toryism, that is to say, that claimed for the House of Commons an extension of its rights and privileges in opposition not only to the Crown and to the House of Lords but also to the people. The Tories in the Commons loved a strong government, as all good Tories did; but they wished to be, as far as possible, that strong government themselves. The average Englishman, whether Royalist or Puritan, was full of independent spirit; and was resolved not to endure arbitrary government in his king or any minister. It will be of some interest to note the various ways in which the House of Commons, even at times when it was swayed by the great Tory majority, attempted to amplify its powers.

To one of these methods—the holding, that is to say, of ministers responsible to Parliament—some reference has been made. It was in the case of Clarendon that the first attempt to enforce the responsibility was made, and his fall was the signal of a parliamentary victory. The right of Parliament to decide whether ministers should stand or fall was thus tacitly

admitted. Charles's abandonment of Clarendon was, from his own personal point of view, one of the worst errors of his reign; for, as James II. truly said, it encouraged ministers to seek an interest in Parliament rather than with the Crown. It was in pursuance of the same policy that the Commons from time to time voted addresses to the King asking him to remove from his Councils—sometimes 'for ever'—ministers whose acts they disapproved. The Earl of Lauderdale was more than once the object of their censure. On one of these occasions, in 1679, in the course of a debate, one Mr. Bennet expressed pretty clearly the feeling of the House when he exclaimed: 'Send the Duke of Lauderdale home, send him home, with Cleveland's two verses on his back:

> Had Cain been Scot, God would have changed his doom,
> Not forced him wander, but confined him home.' [1]

Another way in which the Commons successfully attempted to extend their powers was in the region of finance. That Clarendon, whatever his motives, was right in not wishing to make the King financially independent of Parliament, it is impossible to doubt. For it is to the parliamentary control of the purse-strings that the preservation of English liberties has been largely due. It is perhaps scarcely too much to assert that the agitations and disputes with which England was torn and distracted throughout the seventeenth century were to a large extent and in the last resort due to questions of finance. There lay at bottom a sordid pecuniary wrangle between the Sovereign and his people. The administration of public money was but little understood; there were frequent under-estimates both of the proceeds of taxation and of national expenditure; and there was no well-defined line drawn between the personal expenses of the Crown and the cost of the defences of the country. Clarendon hit the mark in saying that 'for whatsoever other human causes may be assigned, according to the several fancies and imaginations of men, of our late miserable distractions, they can not be so reasonably imputed to any one cause, as to the extreme poverty of the Crown; the want of power could

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iii. p. 50; vol. vii. p. 194.

never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of money.'[1] At the Restoration the financial difficulties were much enhanced; for the country had been exhausted by the demands made upon it by Cromwell, and its taxable capacity had been overstrained. It was, so to speak, to a bankrupt inheritance that Charles II. succeeded, and no appreciation of his reign would be complete that failed to take the fact into account. The value of silver and the consequent rise in prices, moreover, had rendered the old revenues of the Crown inadequate and had thus increased the trouble. Charles II. doubtless fully appreciated the position, for he had received some excellent advice from the Duke of Newcastle upon the matter. The last two kings, said the Duke, always wanted money, and were therefore under the necessity of calling Parliaments and imposing taxes. Therefore, he advised him, 'Put money in your pockets and be rich.'[2] Government, he continued, through well regulated parliaments is only possible when the Crown is not in want of money from them. Charles, however, could never put money in his pocket, or, if he did, could never keep it there. He bitterly complained of his necessities. In the very first year of his reign in a speech to Parliament he told the members that what troubled him most was 'to see many of you come to me at Whitehall, and to think that you must go somewhere else to seek your dinner.'[3] And to some extent he had good reason to complain. For so low had the supply of military and naval stores fallen at the Restoration that he was obliged to pledge his personal credit for their increase. He did even more than this, if the words of Sir Edward Turner, the Speaker, are to be literally taken. 'No, Sir, you have been so far from asking that part of the money which was given you last Parliament for your household provision, you have issued out towards payment of our debts, you have robbed your own table (I had almost said, given the meat out of your own belly) to feed the hungry seamen.'[4] In the year 1679 it is related that 'one of the chief officers of the Exchequer declared in the House of Commons, that there was not money sufficient for bread

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. v. p. 249; Somers *Tracts*, vol. ii. (third collection), Speech of the Lord Chancellor.

[2] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government*.

[3] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 115.

[4] Somers *Tracts*, vol. ii. (third collection), Speeches of Sir E. Turner.

for the King's family.' That is certainly an exaggerated statement, but there can be no doubt that Charles was frequently embarrassed ; and though much of his trouble must be put down to his extravagance, he is perhaps not so much to blame for the stoppage of the Exchequer in 1672 as has been commonly supposed. For the failure to repay the advances of the bankers was in a large measure due to the shortage of the revenue. The income voted by Parliament to the King has been actually estimated as less by half a million than the expenses of his government. Yet the House of Commons took credit to itself for unusual generosity in voting Charles's revenue upon his Restoration. It was, says Clarendon, ' a proportion double to what it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it may be of any king preceding.' The Speaker, on presenting him with the Bills of Supply, told him that it was contrary to precedent to grant money before having obtained redress of grievances, but that ' out of the greatest confidence and trust, that ever subjects had in a prince,' the House now presented him ' with the greatest gift that ever prince of this kingdom had ever given him by his people.' [1]

In the relations of Charles and his parliaments there is just a touch of comedy. While profoundly distrusting one another, they indulged in reciprocal protestations of affection. They did, perhaps, protest too much. In opening Parliament in 1664, the King declared, ' I need not tell you how much I love parliaments. Never King was so much beholden to parliaments as I have been, nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without frequent parliaments.' [2] As time went on his love cooled ; but even in 1678 he expressed his earnest wish that the parliament should be a ' healing one.' [3] Again, at the opening of the Oxford Parliament in 1681, he asserted that ' he who would never use arbitrary Government himself, would not suffer it in others ' ; and that ' no irregularities of parliaments should make him out of love with them.' [4] The intensity of his love was disclosed by the immediate dissolution of the House which had just been summoned. It was then that he

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 90.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 290.
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vi. p. 403.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 291.

remarked to Lord Ailesbury that his affairs were in so good a posture that he had no occasion to ask for supplies. 'I will,' he said, 'have no more parliaments unless it be for some necessary acts to be passed that are temporary only, or to make new ones for the general good of the nation.'[1] He was as good as his word, for that was the last parliament he called together. His inmost thoughts upon the subject he revealed from time to time in the course of conversation. For instance, he told the Earl of Essex 'that he did not wish to be like a grand Signior, with some mutes about him, and bags of bow-strings to strangle men, as he had a mind to; but he did not think he was a King as long as a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his ministers, as well as his accounts.'[2] When he prorogued Parliament in 1679, he remarked to a circle of courtiers about him, 'It will be difficult and uncomfortable for me, but I will rather submit to anything than endure the gentlemen of the Commons any longer.' When again he had dissolved the Oxford Parliament, he replied, in answer to a courtier who had counselled arbitrary government, 'Nonsense; a King of England that is not a slave to five hundred kings is great enough'; and he told Lord Ailesbury that he had better have one king than five hundred.[3] In his absolute notions it must be admitted that he was encouraged by at least some of his ministers. It was Clarendon who told him that the power of Parliament was 'more or less or nothing, as he pleased to make it,' and that 'Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in 1588 without calling a Parliament, and so might he do for anything he saw';[4] and Clifford, who, in reference to Charles's money aids from Louis XIV., remarked that 'it was better to pay dependence to a great and generous King than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.'[5]

In the attempt to obtain a greater control over the conduct of foreign affairs the House of Commons was less successful. Here, indeed, Charles kept firmly to his ground. In reply to some addresses from the House, asking him to enter into

[1] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 21.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 1.
[3] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 57.
[4] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi.
[5] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 484.

an alliance with the United Provinces he said, 'Should I suffer this fundamental power of making peace and war to be so far invaded (though but once) as to have the manner and circumstances of leagues prescribed to me by Parliament, it is plain, that no princes, or state, would any longer believe, that the sovereignty of England rests in the Crown; nor could I think myself to signify any more to foreign princes than the empty sound of a King. . . . In sum, gentlemen, the right of making and managing war and peace, is in His Majesty; and if you think he will depart from any part of that right, you are mistaken. The reins of Government are in his hands; and he hath the same resolution and concern to preserve them there, as he hath to preserve his own person.'[1] The King spoke *stylo minaci et imperatorio*—to use the words applied by Andrew Marvell to another occasion. For once in a way, at any rate, he seems to have fairly lost his temper; 'I just care that for Parliament,' he exclaimed to the Dutch Ambassador, tossing his handkerchief into the air.[2] Few things, indeed, caused so much chagrin to the House as the account of the affair which appeared next day in the *Gazette*. The Commons, said Marvell, had 'grown to that height of contempt, as to be gazetted among runaway servants, lap-dogs, strayed horses and highway robbers'; and Sir Thomas Meeres complained that it had been placed in the same category 'with runaway servants and lost dogs.'[3] The House perhaps thought that it had shown too much irritation; for not long afterwards it presented an address in which complaint was made that its proceedings had been misrepresented to the King 'by some particular persons, in a clandestine way, without the participation and advice (as we conceive) of the Council Board.'[4]

That Charles II. was very anxious to influence and control the House of Commons is very certain. He even occasionally sat there during the debates; or at all events he did so during those on the Exclusion Bill, when he was likened by the high-flying Tories to the sun scorching his opponents. To his

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iv. p. 389; vol. v. p. 62.

[2] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 315.

[3] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's edition), vol. iv. p. 406; Grey's *Debates*, vol. v. p. 245.

[4] Grey's *Debates*, vol. v. p. 368.

endeavours to secure elections and to render members subservient by more or less corruption some reference has been made. In order to facilitate his dealings with the House and to guide in some degree, however small, the course of business, he made use of certain members who were specially deputed to watch the interests of the Crown. These 'undertakers,' as they were called, took their rise in the reign of James I., though he repudiated their assistance and spoke of them contemptuously as a 'strange kind of beasts.'[1] They do not appear to have been viewed with much respect. Pepys said that they were despised and would not be listened to; and Clarendon, speaking of parliamentary groups, observed that members 'would by no means resort to any meeting, fearing to undergo the odious name of undertakers, which in all parliaments hath been a brand.' Yet Clarendon entrusted to some select members of the House a knowledge of the Government's intentions, and conferred with them daily during the continuance of the session—a practice, he says, which ceased, when Sir H. Bennet and Sir William Coventry came into power, being men 'who disdained to receive orders, or to have any method prescribed to them.' That Charles exerted any real influence upon the House by this method of parliamentary agency is improbable; and, if Clarendon is to be believed, he must early have given up making the attempt. For finding that the House determined to 'proceed by its own rules and with its accustomed formalities' he became disposed 'to leave all things to their natural course and God's providence'—a plan perhaps not uncongenial to his temperament.[2]

If the King failed to bend the House of Commons to his will, the popular chamber would scarcely admit the existence of any limits to their power. When Colonel Birch declared in the House during the debate on the Exclusion Bill that 'our legislative power is unbounded,' he gave expression to the thoughts of all, or almost all, of those who heard him.

[1] Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 62; North's *Examen* and his *Life of Lord Guilford*.

[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, part vi. It has been conjectured that Shakespeare in making use of the word 'undertaker' in *Twelfth Night*, act. iii. sc. iv. was thinking of the use of the word in the parliamentary sense. See the Editor's note in the Arden edition of the play.

Sometimes the House stepped beyond the constitutional limits. To pass a resolution—as it did in 1680—that anyone who should advise the King to prorogue Parliament was a betrayer of the King, the Protestant religion and the Kingdom of England, was certainly excessive. When, again, the King took refuge in a stratagem in order to avoid giving his assent to a Bill passed by both Houses for the relief of Dissenters, the Lower House passed a resolution dispensing them from liability to the penalties which the Bill in question was promoted to abolish. On the other hand, the attempt of the House to deny the right of the Crown to order its adjournment was unsuccessful. 'When,' said the Speaker in 1677, 'there is a command from the Crown to adjourn; we are not to dispute about it, but to obey and adjourn, after a command of this kind there remains nothing for you to do but to execute it.' [1] Even Sir Edward Seymour was in this instance upon the side of the prerogative. When on one occasion he received the royal order to adjourn, he 'in the same moment stampt down on the floor, and went forth . . . without shewing that decent respect which is due to a multitude in order, and to whom he was a menial servant.' The adjournment was afterwards announced in the *Gazette*—contemptuous treatment which the Commons bitterly resented. 'Thus,' we are also told by Andrew Marvell, 'they were well rewarded for their itch of perpetual sitting and acting.' [2]

Of Charles himself—his temperament and his capacities—it is indispensable to form some appreciation, in order to estimate his place in the government machine. Many of Charles's most characteristic traits had their root in his birth and education. His dark hair and eyes and umbered face betrayed the Bourbon in his nature. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to think of him, with his strong passions, his foreign predilections, his sprightly wit and bright intelligence, except as one who was fully half a Frenchman. The temperament that he owed to his birth was intensified by his life abroad, more especially in France, during his most impressionable years; so that there were traits in his nature which alienated him from, and put him only in

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 890.
[2] Marvell's *Works*, vol. iv. (Grosart's edition), p. 406.

imperfect sympathy with, the people whom he ruled. Something on this account must be forgiven him for his defaults. Then his education was defective, such only as was possible for an exile and a vagabond. From his father he received some sound advice on State affairs—'never to affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not satisfaction of favourites.'[1] But the tragedy of 1649 dried up what might have been a fount of healthful counsel. In the Duke of Newcastle he had a great nobleman—dignified, cultured, devoted, and patriotic—for his tutor. Yet though the Duke discharged his duties conscientiously, he unfortunately encouraged his pupil in some of the very tendencies in which he should have checked him. 'Besides,' he wrote to him, 'I would not have you too studious, for too much contemplation spoils action, and virtue consists in that. . . . but whensoever you are too studious, your contemplation will spoil your government, for you cannot be a good contemplative man and a good Commonwealth's man; therefore take heed of too much book.' His warning, too, to 'beware of too much devotion for a King,' was rather cynical; he added: 'One may be a good man but a bad king.'[2] But Charles, least of all men, needed to be warned against excessive study or too extreme religious exercise; nor was the 'pale cast of thought' likely in his case to sickly o'er his native hue of resolution. Much of the Duke's teaching, however, on the manners and deportment to be affected by a king was timely and judicious. Charles, he said, must be careful to maintain ceremony as a safeguard to his dignity; but though dignified, he should be courteous and easy of address; for the 'putting off your hat and making a leg pleases more than reward or preservation.' That so thorough-going a royalist as Newcastle must have instilled some strong Tory doctrine into the royal pupil's mind may be assumed; and some of his pieces of advice on matters of high politics will be referred to in the following pages. In reading for an hour a day with Bishop Earles, Charles fell beneath a gracious influence, but perhaps he was scarcely so fortunate in taking mathematical lessons from Hobbes, who, rightly or

[1] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 56.
[2] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government*.

wrongly, was supposed to have infected him with some of his own heterodox religious notions.

The estimate of Charles as a *flâneur*, who merely lounged through life, is a mistaken one. A strong and full-blooded man, in whose veins the wine of life coursed madly, he could be energetic in his pleasures. He was a keen politician with a lively interest in affairs, and with definite ends in view. He longed for power, in the sense that he wished to rule with perfect freedom from control. It was not so much that he desired to be despotic, as that he hated interference, and that he held that kings should be their own ministers. His remark made in a letter written to the King of Portugal in 1662, that he believed that 'so much is done by the personal intervention of kings,' throws a stream of light upon his policy.[1] Then he was naturally endowed with really remarkable abilities which would have carried him far but for his want of moral fibre. And, even as it was, he frequently outwitted his opponents. From his own personal point of view it must be allowed that his reign was crowned with a large measure of success. He was a shrewd judge of character; 'where men had chinks,' so it was said, 'he would see through them as soon as anyone about him.' He had, said Sir William Temple, 'great quickness of conception, great pleasantness of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more observation and truer judgment of men than one would have imagined;' but, he continued—and here he put his finger on the blot of his character—'he desired nothing but to be easy himself, and that everybody else should be so.'[2] It was this desire that blossomed darkly and bore evil fruit betimes; it was the rot that slowly cankered all. Though his political principles were Tory, he was so far from being stubbornly conservative that his mind was eagerly alive to new ideas. He had, said Clarendon, 'in his nature so little reverence or esteem for antiquity, and did in truth so much condemn old orders, forms and institutions, that the objections of novelty rather advanced than obstructed any proposition. He was a great lover of new inventions and thought them the

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. vi., The Papers of J. M. Heathcote, p. 30.

[2] Courtenay's *Memoirs of Sir W. Temple*, vol. i. p. 500.

effects of wit and spirit, and fit to control the superstitious observation of the dictates of our ancestors.'[1] His love of science and his interest in naval architecture were sincere and of real service to his country. Though he is said to have caused inquiries to be made in Paris for the astrologer who foretold his Restoration, he seems to have risen superior to what was then an almost universal superstition; for in a letter to his sister he observed with reference to astrologers, 'I give little credit to such kind of cattle, and the less you do it the better.'[2] That he had any taste in literature there is no evidence to show, unless it be his love for Butler's *Hudibras*, the biting wit of which he keenly relished. But he enjoyed the society of literary men. He liked to engage in argument with Hobbes, and with Waller he was on quite familiar terms. The King's friendship with Dryden was actually of some political importance, if the story be true that some of the Laureate's tremendous satire was derived from royal inspiration; and though Dryden was too prone to indulge in nauseous flattery, he said no more than the truth when he described Charles as 'an exact knower of mankind and a perfect distinguisher of their talents.'

It was impossible that so clever a man as Charles II., holding the political opinions that he did, should have failed to have influenced the current of events. That is why he must ever hold a prominent place in the history of Toryism. It is probable that his intentions were better than his deeds, and that it was only after some years of disillusions that his Toryism became reactionary and assumed a darker hue. At first, at any rate, he won golden opinions from all sorts and conditions of men. He had, to begin with, the arts of popularity. When in 1661 he reviewed his troops in Hyde Park, he won the hearts of the people by throwing to them gammons of bacon, neats' tongues and sweetmeats.[3] On hearing Sir William Temple quote Gourville's saying that a King of England, in order to be great, must be a man of his people, he replied, 'And I will be the man of my people'; and it is quite possible that he sincerely meant it.[4]

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [2] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 237.

[3] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, report v., Appendix: The Papers of the Duke of Sutherland, p. 157.

[4] Courtenay's *Memoirs of Sir W. Temple*, vol. i. p. 426.

Then he was not personally vindictive with regard to the treatment of the regicides; and he would probably have agreed with Sir Henry Wotton that hanging is the worst use to which a man can be put. It is to his credit that it is possible to liken him to Louis XII., who uttered the memorable saying, 'The King of France does not avenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans.' By the testimony of both friends and opponents he began his reign in such a manner as to arouse the fairest hopes. Even the Whig Marvell, in his letters to the Mayor and Aldermen of Hull, written in the years 1660 to 1670, could speak of Charles in this way: 'We must henceforth rely only upon his Majesty's goodness, who, I must needs say, hath hitherto been more ready to give than we to receive.' As to the Bill of Indemnity, he adds, 'His Majesty is most fixedly honourable and true to that business as in all things else.' Again, 'there never appeared a fairer season' to obtain redress of grievances and security of justice for the future; and the King's 'prudence, justice and kindness are gratefully acknowledged by Parliament.'[1]

What Charles's religious opinions were it is very difficult to determine. He was probably a thorough-paced sceptic who thought that if Christianity must be professed at all, Roman Catholicism was the best form of it; and he quite seriously entertained the notion of bringing back the nation, with the help of Louis XIV., to the ancient faith.[2] His youthful experience in Scotland of the sour severities of the Kirk probably instilled into his mind an aversion from nonconformity which he never lost. With his easy indifference he found it no trouble to be tolerant, and in this respect he stands better than many of his contemporaries. To the Quakers, from whose political quietism he had nothing to fear, he was especially indulgent, and it is said that about seven hundred of them, who were imprisoned under Cromwell, were liberated at the Restoration. Charles possessed, indeed—it must in justice be admitted—some of the qualifications of an admirable monarch; but all was marred by one defect—an over-mastering love of pleasure. This was the canker that ate into his life. Tom

[1] Marvell's Works (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 26, 72, 218.

[2] See Lord Acton's *Historical Essays and Studies, The Secret History of Charles the Second,* for a discussion of Charles's religious beliefs.

Killigrew, the court jester, was privileged to speak freely to his master, and he on one occasion told him that there was a 'good honest able man,' who, if he were employed would soon mend affairs, and that this man was Charles Stewart, who was spending his time in amusements.[1] On another occasion the joke took a more elaborate form. Killigrew appeared before the King in the habit of a pilgrim, and when asked where he was going, he said to hell. When the King asked why, he replied that he was going 'to fetch back Oliver Cromwell that he may take some care of the affairs of England, for his successor takes none at all.'[2] As the years rolled on, the evil habit grew, Charles expressed his belief that God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure, and putting theory into practice he became little better than a Don Juan on a throne. In political life he developed into an adroit opportunist who played off the various parties against one another. The King and his ministers, together with the two Houses of Parliament, were, so to speak, the living instruments through which the Tory spirit, flushed with energy and full of hope, strove to carry out its will. It remains to be seen what those instruments, acting singly or together, attempted or accomplished, and what were the methods of their work.

In the Parliament of 1661 Charles II. found a House of Commons almost entirely to his mind—*une chambre introuvable*, to use the phrase applied by Louis XVIII. to the French Chamber of 1815. It was more royalist than the King and more ecclesiastical than the Church. It set to work with feverish energy to pluck up by the roots those combined elements of puritanism, dissent and republicanism which formed the opposition. Great, indeed, was the change from the Convention Parliament, which had really worked in a conciliatory spirit. The address made to the King on its dissolution by the Speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimston, was pitched in a high key, but it expressed a truth beneath its embroidery of words. 'This,' he said, 'is a healing Parliament, a reconciling, a peace-making Parliament; a Parliament *propter excellentiam*, that may truly be called *Parliamentissimum Parliamentum*.'[3] It was in no mood to heal or

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv.
[3] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii, p. 60.

reconcile that the next Parliament assembled. No sooner had the session opened than the Commons, as though determined to purge themselves from any taint of puritanism, ordered that all members should receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite. The House then directed that the Solemn League and Covenant should be burned by the common hangman, together with the Acts for the constituting the Commonwealth, for the establishment of the High Court of Justice, for the trial of Charles I., for subscribing the Engagement, for renouncing Charles I., and for the security of Cromwell's person. It also passed an Act for the preservation of the King's person and Government, by which it was made a punishable offence to affirm the King to be a Papist or a heretic, or to write, print, preach, or speak against the established Government, or to assert a legislative power to be in either or both Houses of Parliament without the King. By the Act declaring the supreme command of the Militia and of all the land and sea forces to be in the Crown it acknowledged a principle of Toryism of great importance to which some further allusion will be made. By the Act to prevent 'tumults and disorders, upon pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses to his Majesty or the Parliament,' the procuring of more than twenty signatures to a petition was prohibited, unless the same had been approved by three or more justices of the peace or the majority of a grand jury in a county or by the Lord Mayor and Common Council in the City of London; as was also the presentation of any address or petition by more than ten persons. The preamble alleged that tumultuous petitioning had been 'a great means of the late unhappy wars, confusion and calamities in the nation,' and the whole Statute exhibited the evident intention of the Government to stand aloof and to resist all popular influences.[1] It was the first indication of the anti-popular character of a Tory House of Commons. Its zeal for the monarchy was displayed by ordering a collection of free gifts for the King to be made throughout the country—an unwise action which proved abortive and caused some irritation. But all this was a foretaste of what was to come.

[1] C. Grant Robertson's *Select Statutes, Cases and Documents.*

If it be the essence of Toryism to form a strong and concentrated government, then it was but to be expected that the aptest measures would be taken for the attainment of that end with the least possible delay. This is what actually occurred.

The most pressing question at the Restoration was that of the army, and this at once became acute. The troops which Monk commanded had first overturned the monarchy and then the Parliament; or, as Evelyn put it, 'the King was restored by that very army which rebelled against him.'[1] It was a wonderful army too; in which, as Burnet relates, 'every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer.'[2] Yet to both the King and the people it was an awe-inspiring object; for while the latter loathed it as Cromwell's instrument of tyranny, the former viewed with much suspicion a body of men deeply imbued with puritan ideas. They too, on their side, were not inclined to like either the Sovereign or his Court. 'In a word,' says Clarendon, 'they liked neither the mien nor garb, nor countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious aspect and benignity of the King himself.' Both he, therefore, and Parliament had only too much reason for wishing the disbandment of an army which they equally had cause to dread. At the adjournment of Parliament in 1660 the first note was struck by Clarendon, who told his hearers that the King knew that they were 'too good Englishmen to wish that a standing army should be kept up in the bowels of their own country.'[3] The King gauged rightly the feelings of his subjects; for if there was one thing more than another that all Englishmen detested, it was a standing army of professional soldiers. Such an institution was both unhistorical and shocking to some of their most deeply cherished sentiments. The sole military force known to the constitution was the Militia.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the whole art of war was entering upon its modern phase, and in England at the Restoration what may be called the question of the army presented many difficulties. The time-honoured Militia were getting out of date. But to substitute a standing army could only be effected by arousing and defying the resentment of the

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*. [2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 290.
[3] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

nation. To the nobility, who commanded the Militia, the design seemed a personal affront; to the people at large, who had long memories, it was exceedingly abhorrent. How deep-seated was the feeling of the nation may be gathered from what took place when what is known as the Venner insurrection of 1661 was put forward as a pretext for the raising of some guards. The proposal was strongly resisted, and excited great alarm; for, as Burnet says, 'it looked like the distrust of the nation,' and as 'enough to give jealousy, but not to give security.' One of the first of the leading men to raise his voice in opposition was the old Earl of Northumberland, who, says Burnet again, bitterly remarked that it was a good thing for the nation that the luxury of the Court had increased, 'for it was better to have the treasure melt away than to see the King raise and pay a military force with it.' Southampton, the Lord Treasurer, was exceedingly indignant. He, it is said, 'complained of it severely to Clarendon, and told him plainly that a white staff could not corrupt him and make him serve in designs that tended to the subduing his country and the governing it by a military power.' 'They had,' he observed, 'felt the effects of a military government, though sober and religious, in Cromwell's army; he believed vicious and dissolute troops would be much worse; the King would grow fond of them, and they would quickly become insolent and ungovernable.'[1] Clarendon was not so strongly moved, but he promised that he would only allow the King troops enough 'to make a show with, and what might serve to dispense with unruly multitudes.' But even this mild proposal for a few guards, with the Duke of York as general, aroused the liveliest opposition in Parliament; and, says Pepys, the House did, in very open terms, say 'they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said that they had found how that man that hath the command of the army is not beholden to anybody to make him King.'[2]

Notwithstanding all the forces that were arrayed against the proposal to raise a standing army as a permanent and regularly-constituted body, it was in the reign of Charles II.

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 290; Supplement to the *History*, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, pp. 76–78.

[2] Pepys's *Diary*.

that it originated. That is a fact of great interest from the Tory point of view. It was under the name of guards—perhaps the least objectionable term that could be thought of—that the first regiments of the British army were established. There were the Life-Guards, styled the 'Blues,' the Dragoons, the Grenadiers, the Foot or Coldstream Guards, and also five regiments of infantry; the whole numbering about seven thousand foot, and seventeen hundred mounted men. Evelyn relates how in 1678 he saw the new troops on Hounslow Heath, and how he especially observed the 'Granadiers,' who were so called because they flung 'hand granados.'[1] The whole number seems so small, that the modern reader wonders at the alarm which they excited. Even so good a Tory as Lord Guilford said that he regretted the abolition of the old military tenures—which he thought 'a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England'—because it 'must by easy consequence procure the establishment of an army.' Indications of the fear aroused appear constantly through the reigns of Charles II. and his brother. Pepys, for instance, says that in 1664 it was apprehended that the King would 'alter the present Militia and bring all to a flying army,' and in 1668 he dwells on the good news that the Guards were being reduced.[2] In Parliament complaints were constantly being made. In the year 1673 alone the subject was several times debated, and on one of these occasions the House of Commons passed a resolution that the maintenance of any troops other than the Militia was a grievance. It was alleged that a standing army debauched the youth of the nation, and that it caused the Militia—'your strength and safety'—to be slighted. Sir John Hotham used an argument, which in such an assembly must have had a strong personal appeal. 'You have now an army,' he said, 'and it is grown from a principle amongst them (an ill nursery for young men) that Parliaments are roots of rebellion.'[3] In 1679 the Earl of Essex presented a memorial to the King pressing him to disband his Guards. ''Tis commonly said'—so the memorial ran—'that this is but a foundation of a standing army; whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. ii. pp. 162, 216.

lead men which may be suddenly raised.'[1] It was even proposed to take a test case into the law courts in order to obtain a declaration that the Guards could not legally be constituted. Thus Sir Leoline Jenkins in a letter written in 1681 remarks: 'The faction is deliberating at this time how to make the Guards an illegal institution, and to have the officers first indicted, then bound over to appear, then to good behaviour.'[2] And Sir Robert Atkins, in his defence of Lord William Russell, urged this very point in meeting that count in the indictment which charged the defendant with attempting to destroy the King's Guards. He argued that the law of England made no mention of them, that the King was guarded by his subjects' love, the Militia and the train-bands, and he alleged that the Guards, appearing with naked swords, 'after the French mode,' were a terror to the nation.[3] The popular dislike of the army was probably increased by the fear of the misconduct of the soldiers. Edmund Verney, writing in 1678, remarks that the army was being recruited from the 'overflowing scum.'[4] In a debate on the subject in the Commons in 1685 complaints were made of 'the insolency of the soldiers, the ill example they were to the country and the heavy burthen of free quarters.' And it was about the same time that the army was described by Burnet as 'corrupt and dissolute,' and as it were, let loose to commit crimes of violence, for which the soldiers were not punished. It seemed, indeed, he added, to be set up as a maxim that the army by rendering itself odious to the nation would become thereby more devoted to the Court.[5] Moreover service in the Guards, if Sir Ralph Verney reports truly, can scarcely have been popular, for he says an officer who appeared in uniform at Court gave occasion for much laughter. And Sir Edmund Verney expressed his determination not to wear the 'servile badge,' unless he received commands to do so. That the presence of military members in the House of Commons should have given offence is certainly surprising; yet that such was the case must be inferred from the language of Lord Halifax.

[1] *The Diary of Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney,* vol. i.
[2] *The Savile Correspondence,* edited by W. D. Cooper, p. 181.
[3] Ewald's *Life and Times of Algernon Sydney,* vol. ii. p. 69.
[4] *The Verney Memoirs,* vol. iv. pp. 238, 240.
[5] Burnet's *History of His Own Time,* vol. iii. p. 240.

'Now the number of them,' he wrote, 'is so increased that the peaceable part of the House may lawfully swear that they are in fear of their lives from such an awful appearance of men of war. It maketh the room look like a guard-house by such an ill-suited mixture.'[1] The *miles gloriosus* was evidently by no means rare.

That the British standing army should have first appeared at a time when the tide of Toryism was in strong flood is an interesting fact, and one that corresponds with the general scheme of human institutions. It is just one of those events that might have been expected, and it is well worthy of remark how, as it were, it inevitably occurred. The only person in the country who really desired an army was the King; and he with his keen Tory instincts quickly realised its value as an instrument of rule. The right of a king to raise an army at his pleasure, so Strafford advised Charles I., 'for ever vindicates the monarchy at home from under the conditions and restraints of subjects'; and it was an admonition that the younger Charles was not slow to learn. The teaching of the Duke of Newcastle on this point was scarcely needed; yet he warned him that a king without an army was a king only by the courtesy of other persons, though the army should be kept out of sight as much as possible, because 'people love not the cudgell.'[2] The Duke's remark that only force prevents apprentices on Shrove Tuesday from tearing off a Bishop's lawn sleeves and cutting his throat was perhaps an excellent argument for establishing policemen; but it has to be remembered that in those days the soldier performed many of the duties of a constable. Charles was an apt pupil, in cases where he perceived his own advantage, and he must have enjoyed a quiet chuckle when he listened—as no doubt he often did—to the pious exhortation that the best guards which could surround a king of England were the affections of his people. He was determined to have an army on some pretext or other; and though the troops were several times disbanded, he was in the main successful. He insensibly increased them by adding men to companies and companies to regiments, until in 1673 he had no less than

[1] Halifax's *Some Cautions, etc.*

[2] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

eighteen thousand men encamped at Blackheath, while Lauderdale had actually twenty-two thousand men under arms in Scotland whom he could set in motion southwards if he wished. The King at any rate was quite conscious of his power when, as Pepys tells us, he threatened to make 'a courageous speech' to the House of Commons because he was 'Master of an army.'[1] There was no subject in which he so much resented parliamentary interference: 'Let them do what they will,' he exclaimed, 'I will never part with any officer at the request of either House. My father lost his head by such compliance; as for me, I intend to die another way.'

By passing the Militia Act of 1661, which declared the sole right of commanding the Militia to be in the King, the House of Commons, as was natural for a Tory assembly, took the traditional point of view. For from the dawn of human history kings have commonly been military leaders, and it is only by degrees that they come generally to delegate their functions. As the Toryism of the House of Commons cooled, an inclination was displayed to encroach upon the Act of 1661. At any rate in 1678 the House passed a resolution that the Militia be embodied for a period of forty-two days—a proposal to which the King of course objected. He sent a message promising his consent to any Bill for the public security by means of the Militia, provided always 'the whole power of calling, continuing, or not continuing of them together, during the time limited be left to his Majesty.'[2] Parliament, however, was driven in spite of itself to maintain a standing army. But as it found the money to pay for it, it was enabled in this way to retain a certain measure of control in defiance of the pretensions of the King. The money, however, was voted with reluctance; and there is evidence that sometimes the men were scandalously treated. The garrison at Landguard Fort, for example, in 1663 sent a petition to their colonel, praying him to make their distress known to the King 'so that they may be preserved from death by hunger,' and acknowledging that the colonel had spent a thousand pounds out of his own pocket in order to keep them alive.[3] It is perhaps not surprising that recruiting was difficult,

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vi. p. 316.

[3] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xv., parts i. and ii. p. 301.

and that men deserted—a state of things put down by the Court to the malice of the opposition. The fact was that the King could not maintain his 'red-coats,' as Sir Roger L'Estrange called them,[1] without parliamentary aids, and these were not always to be had.

The bickerings of King and Parliament, however serious they appeared, sink into comparative unimportance when events are considered in a large and comprehensive view. The foundation of the standing army marked an epoch in English history, and if we adopt Spencer's generalisation and say that Toryism stands for the militant type of society with its regime of compulsion, and that Liberalism stands for the industrial type with its regime of voluntary action, the period which saw the beginnings of the army may perhaps be not improperly described as one which increasingly displayed both Tory and militant characteristics. Throughout the course of English history the militant and industrial elements of society have been continuously in conflict. Bacon, who upon this point almost anticipated Spencer, observed that 'sedentary and within door arts and delicate manufactures that require the finger rather than the arm have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition,'[2] and he advised them to be left to aliens, who for that purpose ought the more readily to be received. It would perhaps be too much to affirm that during the Restoration period Englishmen cultivated to excess what Bacon calls the 'military disposition,' but the government was repressive, and in so far as it adopted methods of coercion, it was militant in type. It is certainly a fact of more than usual interest that it was at this time that the great Whig and Tory parties took their rise. For again, if are we to adopt the views of Spencer, it was out of the conflict of militarism and industrialism that the great political parties have arisen. During the reigns of the later Stuarts the militant elements prevailed.

Of the cohesive forces of society one of the most powerful is religion. Among kindred a common religious belief strengthens natural bonds and mitigates animosities; and what is true of the family may with equal truth be predicted of the nation. If

[1] L'Estrange's *A Plea for a Limited Monarchy.*

[2] Bacon's *Essay on the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

self-preservation by means of an adequate military force be one of the first instincts of a nation, hardly less so perhaps is the provision for religious observance. In ancient and primitive societies religious and political institutions can scarcely be distinguished; they are parts of a single social custom. So intimately fused were the ideas of the secular and the divine in the beginnings of history that the conception of the State was, as has been well said, that of 'a solidarity of gods and men as parts of a single society.' [1] The modern State is very differently regarded, but the persistence of the primitive conception in the minds of men has unquestionably modified the course of history, and must therefore be placed among the great formative influences. In a history of Toryism the relations of the State to religion in a special degree demand consideration.

Just as religion is cohesive, so are ecclesiastical institutions in an even higher degree conservative. Here, if anywhere, the hand of the past lies heavy on the present. For perhaps in nothing so much as in religious usage and ceremony do men cling so pertinaciously to the old and traditional. The more the original meaning of modes of worship is forgotten, the more tenaciously they are preserved. And just as changes of usage are resisted, so are changes of belief, because alterations in the latter tend to produce corresponding alterations in the former. They rise and fall together. 'Ecclesiasticism,' it has been well said, 'stands for the principle of social continuity. Above all other agencies it is that which conduces to cohesion, not only between the existing parts of a nation, but also between its present generations and its past generations.' [2] Nor is it only through disinclination to change religious usage and belief that ecclesiasticism operates as a conservative influence in a state. There is an innate desire in man to seek supernatural sanction for the acts of government, or for the collective conduct of the nation of which he is a member, and it is this sanction which the national religion usually supplies. Then the existence of a priesthood tends to rivet and cement society. It enforces

[1] Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 32.

[2] Spencer's *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, pp. 773–774, 810; cp. Bryce's *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. i., Essay on the Action of Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces on Political Institutions.

obedience to authority; it co-operates with the secular power in the repression of disorder; it inculcates the duty of individual self-restraint, and helps to promote continuity in social institutions.

That a conservative party should endeavour to seize upon and to turn to account the centripetal forces of religion is only what might have been expected. This is exactly what the Tories at the Restoration did. It is evident that a form of religious belief which embraces practically the whole of a community and can be associated with the government and the movements of public life, will tend enormously to strengthen the cohesion of the State. In other words, the greater the uniformity of religious usage and belief, the stronger the cement; while, on the other hand, the greater the diversity, the weaker religious ties become. When it is multiform, religion, so far from being cohesive, becomes actually disruptive. A party of conservative instincts will, therefore, inevitably seek as far as possible to promote unity and to discourage differentiation; or, to vary the expression, to hold in check the constant movement from homogeneity to heterogeneity. It was in the religious sphere especially that the Tories worked for uniformity with indefatigable energy and zeal.

The most uniform, and therefore, the most cohesive form of religious belief, is that professed by the majority of the inhabitants of a nation and supported by the authority of the State. A uniformity of this kind can only be absolutely reached when there is complete identity of Church and State; as happened in the city-states of Greece, and in Rome during a long period of her history. There, politics and religion were closely intertwined, and citizenship was a kind of religious partnership, a denial of the national deities being regarded as a most heinous form of treason. Religion was not individual but national. Socrates was deemed dangerous to the State because he was a sceptic in religion. It is also worthy of remark that in ancient societies religion was not so much a matter of speculative faith as of ceremonial and usage; or, to quote Professor Robertson Smith, 'antique religions had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices.'[1] The same fact may be differently expressed by

[1] Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 18.

saying that the preservation of a cult and its institutions preceded in importance the injunctions of the cult. The religious scheme of ancient and primitive societies has been thus generalised by Spencer: 'Hence,' he says, 'the fact that to uphold the authority of a sacerdotal hierarchy, by which the divine will is supposed to be uttered, is regarded by its members as an end yielding in importance only to recognition of the divine will itself.'[1] Where, in short, there is the greatest uniformity of religious profession, the spheres of Church and State tend most nearly to become coterminous, and religion to be not so much individual and personal, as political and national. It is, therefore, not too much to say that in seeking uniformity the Tory party sought—though without any conscious recognition of the fact—to cast the religious practice of the nation into the antique moulds. What they aimed at was a regime of 'political religionism.'

Nothing perhaps will bring out more distinctly the essential characteristics of the Tories than a consideration of the ecclesiastical theory they embraced and of the modes which they employed to translate that theory into practice. It will make for clearness, if a retrospective glance be taken at the series of events that brought about the religious situation with which in 1660 the Government had to deal.

The origin of that situation is to be sought in the Reformation. That great movement arose naturally out of the character of Englishmen. Active rather than contemplative in disposition, energetic and full of independence, it was inevitable that sooner or later they would rebel against the papal yoke. Protestantism, a religion of individualism and self-government, was more congenial to them than a religion of authority. Then the claims of the Papacy inflamed their patriotic zeal. It would perhaps be too much to affirm that they displayed any of that religious exclusiveness that was characteristic of the Jew of old time, who, it has been said, monopolised God. But in throwing off the supremacy of the Pope, they showed, as a French critic has well remarked, their determination to have 'an English God.'[2] The Reformation was, in fact, less a theological and

[1] Spencer's *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, p. 815.

[2] Boutmy's *Essai d'une Psychologie politique du Peuple Anglais au* XIX^me^ *Siècle*, p. 376.

speculative than a political and patriotic effort. That it enforced and emphasised the right of private judgement and men's equality before the Throne of God; that Protestantism is rooted on 'a profound horror of falsehood' is doubtless true enough. But these are, perhaps as far as the history of the movement in England is concerned, the least important aspects of the truth. The great fact for all Englishmen is that the jurisdiction of the Pope was transferred to the King. Looked at from the theological point of view the Reformation was carried out in England in a manner that was entirely consonant with the characteristics of the people. Unable to agree unanimously, with their practical good sense they effected a rough and ready compromise. Its note was 'schismatic orthodoxy,' to use Froude's paradoxical expression; its aim was not exclusion, but comprehension, so far as that was possible. If the Church took her Liturgy from Rome, she took her Articles from Geneva. And even those Articles were not intended to be cramping and irritating fetters. They are, said Archbishop Ussher, 'pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.'[1] Again, said Sir John Birkenhead, speaking in the House of Commons in 1667, 'the Articles of the Church of England were drawn so that both parties might subscribe.' A doctrine that permitted Hume and Hoadly to say that a man might properly subscribe to the Articles without believing them has certainly its dangers;[2] but it had at all events the merit of working out a settlement that was enduring and practical. The Reformation, therefore, meant for Englishmen a movement, which was politically a patriotic effort, and theologically a compromise.

The idea of a monarch as the supreme ecclesiastical personage in the nation may be said to arise naturally out of the mental disposition of mankind. The King as Chief Priest was a familiar institution in ancient, and still is in primitive societies. In transferring the jurisdiction and authority of the Pope to the monarchy the English Government, therefore, acted probably in complete accord with popular opinion. Henry VIII. was in

[1] Tulloch's *Rational Theology*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[2] Cp. *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. xcviii. No. 100, Article on the Consequences of the Doctrine of Verbal Inspiration.

fact Erastian before Erastus; his position as 'Supreme Head' of what he called '*our*' Church of England,[1] and Elizabeth's as 'Supreme Governour,' seemed a perfectly natural one. The result that emerged at the end of the sixteenth century was the establishment of State and Church upon a thoroughly Erastian basis. It came to be a generally accepted notion that the Monarchy and the Church were so inextricably combined that their mutual support was necessary for the existence and security of each.

The Erastian view of ecclesiastical policy derived no small support from some of the most eminent divines. That both the Sovereign and the Church assisted one another in no small degree for personal ends is probably true. If the clergy enhanced the pretensions of the Crown, they hoped in return to gain its sanction for pretensions of their own. The episcopal order of ecclesiastical government, which was retained in exclusion of presbyterianism, tended still further to bind the monarchy to the Church because a presbyterian rule had a flavour of democracy which was distasteful to a court. James I. —as the Speaker of the House of Commons reminded his grandson—was fond of saying, 'no Bishop, no King.'

The royal Declaration of Breda in 1660 promised 'that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom,' and the settlement of the Church was left to the decision of Parliament. What that settlement was to be in its essential principles, there never could have been any doubt from the moment Charles II. stepped on English soil. It was inevitable that the King, his ministers and a parliament predominantly Tory, would not have been content with anything less than the restoration of the old episcopal government in Church and State. Charles himself—whatever may have been his innermost convictions on religion—had no doubt about the political value of an established Church. The advice given to him by his father to maintain the Church, which he thought the best in the world—'keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny and the meanness of fantastic anarchy'—perhaps scarcely appealed to him. For if he had any sincere belief at all, it was in the Roman Catholic form of

[1] Pollard's *Henry the Eighth*, pp. 330, 378.

faith. The Duke of Newcastle's exhortation—'remember you are both King and Pope'—was probably much more to his liking. It is probable that it did not take him long to come to the conclusion that the view, which his old tutor expressed with racy humour, was the true one. It is impossible, said the Duke, for a State both civil and ecclesiastical to be governed by one head, if the State is either Popish or Presbyterian. For if it be Popish, it will be governed by the Pope; if it be Presbyterian, it will be governed by itself. Popery and Presbyterianism, 'though they look divers ways with their heads, yet they are tied together like Samson's foxes by their tails, carrying the same firebrands of covetousness and ambition, to put all into a combustion wheresoever they come, that will not submit to them.'[1] At all events, towards the end of his reign Charles told the Marquis of Worcester that he thought that the Presbyterians were ten times worse than the Pope in their encroachments, and he assured him that he would not lessen the power of the Crown by lessening the power of the Church, 'for we must march together.'[2] He supported the episcopal form of church government, not because he had any belief in the doctrine of apostolical succession, but because he thought it 'an aristocratical government in the Church,' and therefore agreeable to monarchy.[3] In saying that Presbyterianism was not the religion of a gentleman he was only echoing the traditional opinion. The Puritans, indeed—so Mrs. Hutchinson relates—'thought it scarcely possible for anyone to continue a gentleman and firme to a godly interest,'[4] but the Cavaliers on their side had a very low opinion of the godly. As Archbishop Williams in a sermon preached at Court expressed it, a Presbyterian government was one 'only fit for tailors and shoemakers, and the like, and not fit for noblemen and gentlemen.' It was an unfortunate accident that the distinction of class coincided to a considerable extent with the divisions into which the nation was split by the diversities of faith; and that whereas the aristocracy, the landed gentry

[1] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts ix. and x.: The Papers of the Duke of Beaufort, p. 84.

[3] Cp. Selden's *Table Talk*, viii.: 'Bishops do best stand with Monarchy.'

[4] *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

and the cultured for the most part adhered to the Church, dissent became the badge of the small traders in the towns and of the yeomen in the country. If Charles II. instinctively inclined to the Church of those who, for want of a better term, must be called the upper classes, he displayed a spirit of conservatism that under the circumstances was natural. The logic of facts, after all, is irresistible.

If the King thought that a consolidating force, a buttress for the throne, was to be found in a re-established Church, he was supported by a mass of authority that had considerable weight. The remark attributed to him by Pepys—that he who took one stone from the Church took two from his Crown—must have seemed to many persons simply a piece of indisputable common sense. There were few, indeed, who were prepared to go as far as Hobbes in carrying Erastianism to its logical extremities. Yet the position of the philosopher of Malmesbury—who evidently thought all religions to be equally true to the people, false to the philosopher, and useful to the statesman—must have been in many ways congenial to Charles and his advisers. A sovereign, said Hobbes, is the representative of God in his kingdom; a church is 'a company of men professing the Christian religion, united in the person of one Sovereign, at whose command they ought to assemble'; there is no government but temporal; 'temporal and spiritual government are but two words brought into the world to make men see double and mistake their lawful sovereign'; bishops and pastors derive their authority from the Sovereign just like civil magistrates; the Sovereign has authority to preach, baptise, administer the Sacrament, ordain priests and consecrate churches.[1] In all this Hobbes maintained—perhaps not without justice—that he did not go beyond the avowed opinions of some of the High Church clergy of the day. At all events it could be said that a rational basis for Erastianism had been found by the most famous of living English philosophers. Laymen so different as the Lord Chancellor Guilford and Lord Halifax took the same views on Church and State. The Church of England, said the former, which 'was reformed by law, and not by rebellion, is the best constitution for

[1] Hobbes's *Leviathan*.

a monarch';[1] 'the monarchy and the Church of England cannot subsist but together,' said the latter; 'for they that endeavour to introduce a republican government in one, expect to have it followed in the other.' That great ecclesiastical personages should have found, or thought that they had found, almost an ideal state of things in an established State Church was only to be expected. Whether the State or the Church at this time gained most by the arrangement it is difficult to say, but the clergy were not disposed to under-estimate the value of their services. When it is remembered that the doctrine of the divine right of kings and of the duty of non-resistance found its warmest supporters among the Anglican clergy, the conclusion seems inevitable that the Church repaid in full measure its obligations to the Crown.

For the ecclesiastical policy of the Restoration there was perhaps no one more responsible than the powerful Minister who forthwith took the helm of State. An ecclesiastically-minded layman, who had pondered long over the dark questions of theology, Clarendon brought to his treatment of the religious settlement some passionate convictions. He was, as we have already seen, an admiring lover of the Church. Holding the opinions that he did he could never have been satisfied with anything less than the restoration of the Church to its old illustrious position. Of his Erastian views he has left us in no doubt.

With a King and his chief Minister holding opinions such as these there could be very little doubt what the character of the ecclesiastical settlement would be. As the Restoration was to some extent a compromise in which the Presbyterians concurred, it was hoped at the beginning that some concessions in their favour would be made. One of the first things that Charles did on his return was to receive a deputation of some of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, the 'popular preachers of the City,' who, while declaring themselves 'no enemies to moderate episcopacy,' prayed him to discontinue the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the surplice by his chaplains. But such faint hopes as were aroused were

[1] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer, p. 187.

speedily dispelled. Charles, indeed, used honeyed words when he addressed the deputation, and he assured Baxter of his desire for religious unity which, he very truly said, could only be gained 'by abating somewhat on both sides, and meeting midway.'[1] He did even more than merely speak conciliatory things; for he appointed some of the leading Presbyterian ministers his chaplains, and offered several of them bishoprics. Expectations reached their zenith when a conference of Bishops and Puritan Divines was summoned to meet at the Savoy Palace with a view to working out such modifications in the Liturgy as might be acceptable to both sides. The Conference met and much barren logomachy ensued. Burnet asserts that the leading protagonists on either side—Bishop Gunning and Baxter—were 'men of such metaphysical heads and so very disputatious that they were best fitted to spoil the design,' and that they spent whole days in arguments, as if their whole business was to 'try their skill in fencing work.'[2] However that may be, it soon became apparent that the prospects of agreement were exceedingly remote; for whereas the Presbyterians argued that the commanding or the forbidding of things indifferent was a sin, when such action was likely to do more harm than good, the Churchmen held that not to command or forbid indifferent things struck at all authority, because it was only in such things that human authority could interpose. The spirit displayed at the Conference may be gathered from the fact that when Baxter made use of the word 'nation,' the Bishop of Carlisle acrimoniouly ejaculated, 'he will not say "Kingdom" lest he own a King.'[3] That any agreement at all was arrived at was under the circumstances wonderful; but it was all in vain; for when Parliament and Convocation met, the labours of the Conference were contemptuously ignored.

The fact was that the dominant Royalists viewed the advances of the Presbyterians with very great suspicion. It was thought—so Pepys said—that the latter wished to bring the King back 'with such conditions as if he had been in chains.' The Church preferments which were offered to the Presbyterians—sops

[1] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 176.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, pp. 328–329.
[3] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 182.

thrown as it were to 'half a dozen of the most quarrelsome of them'[1] aroused no small degree of jealousy. It was said, too, that the Presbyterians on their side had no good will for Charles's Cavalier adherents; that they declared that they could not feel secure if they permitted 'so much as a kitchen-boy to be about the King of his old party.'[2] The time, it is evident, was not one in which moderating counsels were likely to prevail. How far there was any real desire on the part of any one concerned for religious comprehension it is impossible to say; such desire, so far as it existed, was certainly lukewarm. It was argued by some Churchmen—Bishops Sheldon and Morley for example—that the Presbyterians filled so many important places in the Universities and Corporations that if they conformed it would be necessary to reward them with all sorts of dignities; that they would conform only so far as the law could not reach them, and would continue to alienate people from the Church. It was better, it was said, 'to have a schism without the Church than within it.'[3] Charles himself, may perhaps have harboured the idea that an infusion of the Presbyterian element would have acted as a check on ecclesiastical pretensions; but the language of his second Declaration in 1660, with its praise of episcopacy, gave not the slightest indication of any zeal for a conciliatory policy. The Presbyterians, too, themselves had, at all events in some instances, good reasons for being satisfied with the existing state of things.

The Toryism, however, of the House of Commons descended like a cataract and swept all obstacles before it. When, for instance, Sir Matthew Hale, with the assistance of the more liberal prelates, drew up a Bill of Comprehension, the House passed a resolution that no one should be allowed to bring such a Bill forward for debate. When Clarendon insisted on restoring the bishops to the House of Lords in opposition to the King, he was supported by the Commons, who were resolved upon a thorough re-establishment of the Church upon its old foundations. Clarendon, indeed, was mild and tolerant in com-

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* v., Appendix: the Papers of the Duke of Sutherland, p. 175.

[2] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 3.

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, Supplement, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 69.

parison ; for they rejected his proposal to provide a maintenance for the ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity. With unbridled zeal Parliament rushed forward in its legislative work, and passed those famous statutes which stand out for all time as landmarks in the History of Toryism. The first was the Corporation Act of 1661. As though conscious that some apology was needed, Parliament tried to justify itself in the words of the preamble. In deprecating tones it declared that ' it being too well known that notwithstanding all his Majesty's endeavours, and unparalleled indulgence in pardoning all that is past, nevertheless many evil spirits are still working.' [1] It required all persons holding office in corporations to take in addition to the ordinary oaths, a further oath renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and declaring that it was unlawful ' upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King,' and abhorring ' that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person or against those that are commissioned by him.' It moreover made it incumbent upon every candidate for a corporation office to have taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England within a year before election. As the strength of the nonconforming bodies lay within the towns, where they were elected in great numbers to seats upon the councils, the Act was very nicely calculated to strike a deadly wound in their most vulnerable part. The right of a dissenter to be elected to the House of Commons still remained, but as the borough councils formed in many cases to all intents and purposes the actual constituencies, the chances of such a candidate being successful at the polls were in many places reduced almost to zero. As an instrument for the repression of what were thought to be disintegrating social elements, the Act, it must be allowed, was artfully contrived.

This, however, was only by way of a beginning. The same session of Parliament saw the passing of the Act of Uniformity, of which, perhaps, it would be not too much to say

[1] C. Grant Robertson's Select Statutes ; cp. article in the *English Historical Review*, January 1906, No. 80, by Professor C. Wilbur Abbott on the Long Parliament of Charles II., from which it would appear that the City of London was excepted from the Corporation Act.

that it stands out as the most remarkable expression of the Tory spirit in legislative form.

At the Savoy Conference many objections were raised by the Presbyterian party to the form of the Book of Common Prayer. It was alleged that it was originally designed to propitiate the Papists, and it was sought to abolish the services for Lent and Saints' Days, and the use of the words 'Priest,' 'Curate,' and 'Sunday.' The disuse of texts from the *Apocrypha*, of the Surplice, of the Sign of the Cross at baptism, of the kneeling at Communion and of the rite of confirmation was also demanded. When, however, the consideration of the Prayer Book came before Convocation, not only were the conciliatory proposals made by the Conference rejected, but the Liturgy was made, from the Presbyterian point of view, more objectionable than before. The distinction between the Episcopate and the Priesthood, and the sacerdotal character of the ministry were more distinctly emphasised; the word 'Church' was substituted for 'Congregation' and the Commemoration of the dead in the Communion Service and a rite for adult baptism were added. The preface to the revised Prayer Book, from the pen of Bishop Sanderson, exhibited the kind of spirit in which the Church party approached any proposals for concession. Of this celebrated Statute it must be enough to say that it required the assent of the clergy, on pain of deprivation, to the Book of Common Prayer. It also required in all cases episcopal ordination, thus reversing the former practice which admitted the pastors of foreign reformed Churches to English benefices and recognised their orders. On the other hand, the Act did not extend to the reformed congregations of alien residents in England. But this was by no means all. The Act required not only the clergy, but all university professors and lecturers, and all schoolmasters and private tutors, to take an oath declaring the unlawfulness of resistance, renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and promising conformity to the Prayer Book. With the further object, it must be supposed, of controlling the rising generation, it was enacted that no one should practise as a schoolmaster or private tutor without licence from the archbishop or bishop of the diocese.

Such, very briefly, were the provisions of this celebrated Act. Its severities were great and they appear the greater not so much by its positive enactments as by its significant omissions. It made no provision for the ministers who under its decrees were about to be ejected; and it refused to confirm an Act of the Convention Parliament that permitted the continuance of Presbyterian incumbents in cases where the ejected clergymen were dead, or where they had been presented on a legal vacancy occurring. Again, when the King in answer to the prayers of the Presbyterians promised to suspend the Act for three months, the Bishops refused their assent, and the proposal to insert in the Act itself a clause enabling the King to dispense with its provisions—a proposal that even Clarendon approved of—was stubbornly resisted.[1] It was evident that neither Parliament nor the Bishops were in the mood to mitigate the hardships which were certain to arise.

As the time drew near to St. Bartholomew's Day, when the deprivation of nonconforming clergy was to take effect, a good deal of public feeling was aroused. The Act, so Pepys tells us, was thought likely to 'make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers.' Upon the last Sunday, he says, great crowds went to hear the farewell sermons of such popular preachers as Dr. Bates at St. Dunstan's and Mr. Herring at St. Bride's. Upon St. Bartholomew's Day a great disturbance occurred in St. Matthew's, 'a great many young people knotting together and crying out "Porridge" often and seditiously in the Church and took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away, and some did tear it.' Nevertheless he records that the ejected clergy 'are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected.' Scarcely two years, however, elapsed before the Diarist had to note that 'many pious ministers of the Word of God, some thousands, do now beg their bread.' There was only too much truth in the assertion.[2]

The Act of Uniformity did not prove to be quite the consolidating force which its promoters hoped it would be. It proclaimed openly the unity, or if not the unity, the intimate alliance, of Church and State, and it identified the monarchy

[1] Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. i. p. 263. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.

with the maintenance of religion. The Prayer Book was the 'King's Book' and the royal arms were placed in churches. The services for the anniversaries of January 30 and May 29 linked the public profession of religion with the fortunes of the dynasty. There could be no question about the political flavour of a Liturgy that referred to the parliamentarians as 'those traitorous, heady, and high-minded men, who under the pretences of religion, and Thy most holy Name, had contrived and well-nigh effected, the utter destruction of this Church and Kingdom.' The words in the collect which spoke of 'our most religious and gracious King,' owing to a misunderstanding of their meaning, offended even Churchmen, who thought it absurd to assert that the King was that which they should pray he ought to be. Charles himself disliked the term; and it is said that he heard enough of it from those who were privileged to joke with him. Though the Act of Uniformity was a strenuous, and in some ways a successful attempt, to concentrate the forces of religion in defence of the ancient constitution, it should not be forgotten that it precipitated dissent. Hitherto there had been diversities of view within the Church itself.[1] Yet, differing greatly as they did, the Calvinistic and Anglo-Catholic sections contrived to live uneasily together within the circumference of the Church. Those who formed the dissatisfied minority were styled 'self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways and give liking unto nothing, but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil.' But they were 'brethren' notwithstanding. This state of things was brought abruptly to an end by the Act of Uniformity. Nonconformity now meant separation, and not, as hitherto, a struggle for supremacy of puritan views within the Church itself. The word 'puritan' began to give way before the comparatively new terms 'nonconformist' and 'dissenter.' Burnet, for instance, says of the nonconformists, that the word 'became the common name to them all, as puritan had been before the

[1] The term Nonconformist appears to have meant originally one who, while adhering to the doctrine of the Church of England, refused to conform to its discipline and practice. The term Dissenters originally included Roman Catholics. After the Act of Uniformity both terms referred to protestant separatists from the Anglican Church. See *The Oxford Historical Dictionary.*

war';[1] and Clarendon spoke of 'the dissenting brethren,' for so, he says, 'the schismatical party called themselves.' So complete, indeed, was the chasm of separation wrought by the Act of Uniformity that Roger North, speaking of the origin of the High and Low Church parties, denied that at this moment there was any difference of opinion within the bosom of the Church. 'There was not,' he writes, 'any dream then of a distinction in the Church, but all were conformists or nonconformists, Churchmen or Dissenters, Loyal or Fanatic.'[2] It was by no means true to say that there was then no 'distinction in the Church,' though much of the 'distinction' had been driven beyond its pale; and it is evident that the Church party rather gloried in the riddance of their irreconcilable and intractable brethren. When the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed the King on presenting to him some Bills in the year 1665, he remarked: 'Tacitus hath a saying, "Such as are false in their love are true in their hate," and this rule we find verified in our Nonconformists. Whilst they were in the bosom of the Church of England, they were like inward vapours and inward bleedings, always oppressing and strangling the body of the Church.'[3]

But though dissent on a large scale, in the form of separatist bodies, may be said to have taken its rise from the date of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the process of total dismemberment was only reluctantly effected. Individual Presbyterians continued to receive the Sacrament at their parish churches, and Baxter, Dr. Bates and others, though they ministered to separatist congregations, not only did so themselves, but exhorted others to do the same.[4] Moreover many of the clergy, who assented to the Prayer Book in accordance with the Act, remained Puritan at heart, and leavened the Church with the Presbyterian spirit. By dropping the use of what was called the Bidding Prayer before the Sermon and extemporising prayers of their own composition, they tried to introduce the Presbyterian practice; and in fact 'this artifice of pulpit prayers' became a kind of touchstone by which the clergy of Puritan

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 352. [2] North's *Examen*.
[3] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 330.
[4] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Fourth Edition), 'A Brief Account of the Tack.'

sympathies could be distinguished. The Rubric was by no means always rigidly obeyed. In a letter written by an Inns of Court student to a country clergyman, the state of things in the London churches is vividly portrayed. 'We have yet,' he writes, 'as many separate wayes of worshipp as we have ministers . . . and I am sure it is of very lamentable consequence, it being probably one special root of our nonconformity.' Privately composed or extempore prayers are, he continues, 'the most destructive thing imaginable to an established liturgy and absolutely contrary to the Church of England.'[1] The studied disregard shown by some clergy to the obligations of the Rubric became a matter of very grave concern. Though 'the iron yoke of outward conformity,' to use Milton's phrase, was heavy, the stubborn and unyielding spirit of the Puritan could not easily be crushed. The Church in the long run only bought peace at the price of rigorous exclusion.

It will perhaps be convenient at this point to anticipate a little and to refer very briefly to the succeeding Statutes which the first Parliament of Charles II., impelled by its vehement Tory passions, launched against the Nonconformists. The Corporation Act and the Act of Uniformity were considered insufficient to force out all the disintegrating elements of dissent which threatened the harmony of Church and State. First came the Conventicle Act of 1664—enacted for a period of three years—which forbade religious meetings not in accordance with the Church of England. It was in presenting this Act to the King for his assent that Sir Edward Turner, the Speaker, virulently attacked the Nonconformists. 'They are,' he declared, 'no friends to the established government either in Church or State, and if the old rule holds true, *Qui ecclesiæ contradicit non est pacificus*, we have great reason to prevent their growth and to punish their practice. To this purpose we have prepared a Bill against their frequenting of Conventicles, the seedplots and nurseries of their opinions under pretence of religious worship.'[2] Even this Act, which defined a conventicle as an assembly of more than five persons besides the members of a

[1] *The Works and Life of Dennis Granville*, Preface to and Journal and Literary Remains.

[2] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 250.

family, and applied to persons of sixteen years of age and upwards, did not satiate the fury of the haters of dissent. The Five Mile Act of 1665, at any rate, made up for the indulgent weakness of the previous legislation. The preamble of the Statute declared that the Nonconformists in boroughs found 'an opportunity to distil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of His Majesty's subjects,' and it was determined that this opportunity—such as it was—should be effectually removed. Not only were ministers who had not conformed to the Act of Uniformity forbidden to settle within five miles of a borough, but all teachers who had not taken the oath of non-resistance and did not attend the services of the Church, were forbidden to teach in public or private. The second Conventicle Act of 1670, which took the place of the one that had expired, was even more severe, and was, according to the terms of the preamble, devised to provide remedies 'against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections.' Marvell—himself a Churchman—was moved to call it 'the quintessence of arbitrary malice.' [1]

Of the responsibility for this series of statutes the Church must take her full share, and for that share she has been very strongly censured. Macaulay said that her conduct, if less atrocious than that of the State, must have been equally diverting to the scoffer; and he declared that 'she continued to be for more than a hundred and fifty years the servile handmaid of monarchy, the steady enemy of public liberty.' Lecky described her 'as from the beginning at once the most servile and efficient agent of tyranny'. . . 'No other Church,' he said, 'so uniformly betrayed and trampled on the liberties of her country.' [2] 'It is vain to deny,' wrote Dr. Arnold, 'that the Church of England clergy have politically been a party in the country from Elizabeth's time downwards, and a party opposed to the cause which in the main has been the cause of improvement.' In the time of Charles I. and Charles II., he adds, 'they deserved so ill of their country that the dissenters

[1] Marvell's Works (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. p. 316.

[2] Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, vol. ii. p. 193.

have at no time deserved worse.'[1] A good Churchman, Fox told the House of Commons, may easily become a bad citizen. But censure of the Church is a commonplace of Whig historians. The truth appears to be, that the passing of the Act of Uniformity, if it was not the greatest misfortune that has ever befallen this country, as some have thought,[2] was at all events an evil that could scarcely be avoided. It is rather in the manner of its execution, than in its substance, that the Churchman finds most reason for regret. In passing judgement on the Church it should moreover be remembered, that the legislation aimed at dissent was part and parcel of the settled Tory policy and the outcome of the well-considered schemes of the statesmen of the day. The urgent need and pressing necessity of the State were, at this crisis in our history, consolidation and the bringing together of all the scattered forces which made for unity and strength. It was an error, no doubt, but a pardonable error, to regard dissent as anti-national. From this point of view there is more to be said for the measures that were taken than may at first sight appear. They were not the work of sheer malevolence, as some writers would have us to believe.

There may be said to be two kinds of mental disposition, the one that naturally inclines to obey established authority, and the one that tends to call in question the validity of its commands and to defy them. The first is conservative, and the second progressive, in its attitude to affairs. To the second class belonged the Nonconformists and their lineal ancestors the Puritans, from whom they also derived their most characteristic traits.

From the very first the views of the Puritans were such that there was only too much reason for regarding them as scarcely less enemies to the State than the Jesuits and the ultramontane Roman Catholics. Holding strongly, as they did, 'that nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God,' they denied the supremacy of the Crown, and even went the length of maintaining that subjects might lawfully be absolved from their allegiance, if the Church was not modelled on the pattern of Geneva. As

[1] Stanley's *Life of Arnold.*

[2] Jowett's *Sermons* (Biographical and Miscellaneous), p. 67.

the Crown came more and more to favour the Anglo-Catholic section, the Puritans were thrown more distinctly into a position of hostility to the government itself, though outwardly at least there were few, says Baxter, who 'scrupled conformity.' Their particular appeal to the Old Testament rather than to the New tended still further to accentuate their innate disposition to resist the dictates of authority, for in the history of the Jews—a race chosen by Jehovah to be the ministers of his vengeance—they found a sympathetic chord. The Old Testament, moreover, was much more rich in texts from which a man could preach sedition—a point which the Duke of Newcastle impressed upon the youthful Charles II.: if a man, he said, be 'Bible-mad,' he may think it a service to destroy the King and may justify his action 'by some example of a king with a hard name in the Old Testament.' [1]

Putting aside the Roman Catholics, the Dissenters were after the Act of Uniformity composed mainly of the Presbyterians and the Independents. Of these perhaps the former were the more numerous and influential. Many of them, at any rate, had sat in the Convention Parliament, and they had, says Clarendon, 'a great party in the army, and a greater in the City.' The two bodies were, in the popular mind, confused together, though the differences between them were far-reaching, and much more acute than appeared upon the surface. Not having, says Burnet, 'the visible distinction of different rites,' they were 'looked on as one body.' The 'main difference' between them was, he says, that whereas the Presbyterians 'seemed reconcilable to the Church,' the Independents did not [2]—a distinction, however, that after the Act of Uniformity could scarcely be maintained. Both, indeed, united in a common cause during the Civil War, but it was not long before there was revealed something more than a simple diversity of principle. It was said that the Presbyterians had brought Charles I. to the block and that the Independents had cut off his head, and the observation was to this extent a just one, that the latter were less inclined to compromise and more resolved to push matters to their logical conclusion. It was, therefore, not

[1] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 10.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 161.

surprising that in the hour of victory, when the sense of a common danger had receded, their differences were sharpened and that mutual toleration was supplanted by repugnance. The Cromwellian officers, says Clarendon, would not even admit any chaplains in the army, 'but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian Government as more tyrannical than episcopacy.' The Presbyterians, on their side 'in contempt of the thrift, sordidness and affected ill-breeding of the Independents, thought it became them to live more generously,' and were accordingly reviled for their 'luxury and voluptuousness.' Clarendon—who was impartial in his cordial detestation of them both—said that 'the one resolved only to do what they believed the people would like and approve, and the other that the people should like and approve what they had resolved.' [1] There is surely some of the exaggeration of the biased critic here; but it is evident that, whereas the Presbyterians had reason to recoil from the violence of the Independents, the latter had equal cause for lamenting that the former were not as thorough-going zealots as themselves. The Presbyterians were accused of being deserters, as having 'forsaken God and the people's cause,' of being a 'crafty and perfidious generation.' [2]

It would not perhaps be too much to say that of all the religious bodies at the time of the Restoration the Presbyterians were the one that were generally the least favourably regarded. They reaped the reward that commonly falls to those who pursue a middle course, preach compromise and practise moderation—the reward, that is to say, which results from pleasing nobody. The Church party thought of them bitterly as the origin and fount of all their troubles, as the sowers of the seed that had sprung up and bore its baneful fruit a hundredfold. The reproach of Hooker—'the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of *your* principles'—must have appeared to the Churchman a very just one. Hobbes, in his cold-blooded way, expressed the truth when he told the Presbyterians that they had no such dangerous enemy as 'the fanatics'—'this

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and *Autobiography*.
[2] *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

brood of their own hatching.'[1] Roger North, in like manner, called the Presbyterians the mother of all sects, 'whereof the progeny are of no small account in the atheistical stock of this age.' The Anabaptists, he says, 'first severed from their mother,' under the notion of Independents'—which was saintship enough in those primitive times of hypocrisy.'[2] Then, rightly or wrongly, the Presbyterians gave offence by what at any rate appeared to be their dogmatic tone and arrogant demeanour. They were said to be severe in life and manner and to preach nothing but damnation.[3] These self-styled 'Ambassadors of God' beyond question provoked a good deal of animosity. Henry More, the Platonist, for instance, called Presbyterianism 'a democratical papacy.' That the Presbyterians were 'a stubborn crew,' as Samuel Butler called them, is clear enough. Pepys notes in 1663 'how highly the Presbyters do talk in the coffee houses still.' The testimony of Clarendon, biased as it is, leaves no doubt what was the feeling that prevailed among the Tories generally. He says that the Presbyterians in all their pulpits, inveighed against the Prayer Book and the government of the Church with 'reflections upon the persons of the Bishops'; that the Independents 'had rather episcopacy should flourish again than that the Presbyterians should govern; that the Presbyterians 'had no other title of their lives but by the King's mercy'; and that their ministers were 'the proudest malefactors and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any men living.'[4] The favourable opinion which the Presbyterians could not win from the Church they were equally unable to obtain from other dissenting bodies. Baxter, who was a Presbyterian, if he can be classified at all, pathetically described the situation thus: 'He made,' he said, 'a wedge of his bare hand, by putting it into the cleft, and both sides closing upon it to his pain.'[5]

After the Act of Uniformity the religious life of England might have been, broadly speaking, divided into three sections—that is to say, the Church people, the Roman Catholics, and the

[1] Hobbes's *Behemoth*. [2] North's *Examen*.

[3] *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1906, Article on an Oxford Trimmer, by the Warden of Wadham College.

[4] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [5] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 608.

'fanatics'—a comprehensive term that embraced all Dissenters whatsoever. What was the attitude of the Tory towards the Dissenters or Puritans or Fanatics—as in the time of Charles II. they might have been indifferently described—has been already briefly pointed out. The facts are undisputed, but they may be differently regarded. It remains, therefore, to be considered whether, taking a broad view, and allowing for the sympathetic bias aroused by the contemplation of a persecuted minority, it is possible to justify a course of action which, judged by modern standards, seems to merit our signal condemnation.

The fear of rebellion was the dominating influence, the immanent and propelling force, that animated the action of the Tories and informed their policy. To prevent disintegration, to promote cohesion—that was the keynote of a course of conduct that might, if this were forgotten, appear incomprehensible. Now of the actuality of rebellion all Englishmen at that time had had a sharp experience; the memory of it was fresh, the recollection was insistent. In the eyes of the orthodox, moreover, rebellion was the most heinous of all crimes. Taking hold of the text—'The sin of rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft'—and neglecting to consider what might be its true interpretation, they applied it to the facts of life before them. It is unquestionable, therefore, that among the Tories generally at the Restoration the abhorrence of rebellion was vivid and sincere; as one of the best known clergy put it: 'all sins nameth he that nameth rebellion, every commandment being violated thereby.'[1] Nor was the apprehension of possible attempts to restore the Commonwealth entirely without warrant. When Charles II. told Parliament in 1661 that 'there is a republican party still in the Kingdom, which have the courage to promise themselves another revolution,' he was doubtless thought to be uttering a truism. Nor was Clarendon less sincere in his remarks in the speech delivered at the close of the session in the same year, when he reviled 'the Republicans and Commonwealth's men, who are every day calling in aid of the law, that they may overthrow and abolish the law.'[2] That the more eager and convinced repub-

[1] *The Life and Works of Dennis Granville*, Farewell Sermon, 1688.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. pp. 231, 253.

licans would accept without demur the new order of affairs could not reasonably be supposed, and it was besides an unquestionable fact that those who held most strongly republican opinions were precisely those who were most distinguished for their unorthodox religious views. Advanced liberalism in politics was thus associated with latitudinarianism in theology, and the republican was not nicely distinguished from the dissenter. The confusion, though under the circumstances a natural one, was to a large extent erroneous and unjust. Many republicans no doubt were free thinkers in religion; as Burnet says, they began to 'profess deism' and 'almost all of them were for destroying all clergymen, and for breaking everything that looked like a union of a national Church.'[1] Algernon Sydney may serve as a typical example. He was, says the same authority, 'against all public worship and everything that looked like a church, while at the same time he was 'stiff to all republican principles' and 'opposed to everything that looked like monarchy.'[2] Yet there were many Dissenters—Presbyterians especially—who were glad to be delivered from the hands of the republicans, and had no sympathy with advanced religious views.

The current opinion, which attributed insurrectionary notions to the Dissenters, seemed to obtain some support from an event of no real significance which occurred in 1661—the rising in the City of the Fifth Monarchy men under the leadership of Thomas Venner. The rebels, who did not number more than fifty, and raised the cry of 'NO KING BUT JESUS,' were easily overpowered, but the rising led to some important political results. Though 'an inconsiderate design, got up by inconsiderable people,' it was not only made a pretext for the raising of some troops, but also served to justify the theory that the Dissenters were inclined to rebellion upon principle. It was alleged that John Goodwin, an Independent, urged them on, and it was commonly believed that the Quakers took part in the affair. Clarendon, for instance, says that they and the Anabaptists—who seem hardly distinguishable from the Fifth Monarchy men—made more noise than ever and assembled

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 125.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 351

together in great numbers ' ; and it is beyond question that many followers of George Fox were imprisoned on the occasion of the outbreak. It is a curious comment on the character of the time that these same Anabaptists had in the preceding year petitioned the Government for protection against persons who attacked their meeting-houses.

How closely the Venner insurrection was associated with dissent may be inferred from the fact that it was immediately followed by a proclamation forbidding ' any meetings for public worship except in parochial churches or chapels.' It was well-nigh impossible in fact for a Dissenter to clear himself from the suspicion of disloyalty. Clarendon led the way in the attack. He thought it impossible to reconcile the Presbyterians, ' for the truth is,' he said, ' they are a packe of Knaves,' and the only result of concessions would be that they would ' aske new and more unreasonable things.' Their faction, he said, is their religion.[1] The charge that Baxter made against him after his fall from power, that he had deliberately planned ' to decoy men into conspiracies, or to pretend plots, upon the rumour of which the innocent people of many countries were laid in prison,' [2] seems to be without foundation ; but it is evident that Clarendon made the most of such symptoms of rebellion as he was able to discover. Bitter experience perhaps had made him susceptible to panic. But he was by no means singular in his associations of disloyalty and dissent. It was all in vain that the voice of protest was loudly and continuously raised. The case of Baxter, for example, is typical and instructive. It was to no purpose that he assured the King that the Dissenters were ' the resolved enemies of sedition, rebellion, disobedience and divisions ' ; it was to no purpose that he suppressed his *Holy Commonwealth*, because it was branded as treasonable and its author was potentially a rebel. Spies were set to listen to his sermons, and being charged before Morley, Bishop of Worcester, with seditious preaching, he was silenced. ' But still,' says Baxter, ' the Bishop looked at Kidderminster as a factious, schismatical, Presbyterian people, that must be cured of their overvaluing of me, and then they would be cured of all the rest.' [3] Pepys was not naturally

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

[2] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 265.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 227, 712.

inclined to speak with favour of dissent, yet in 1663 he notes that 'the King by name, with all dignities, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatiques, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better. . . . For as they are the most, so generally they are the most substantial sort of people and the soberest.' [1] It may be doubted, however, whether he would have dared to express such sentiments aloud. Or take again the Quakers. If there ever was a sect which preached non-resistance and political quietism, it was they; yet Roger North styled them 'those worst of sectaries.' Notwithstanding the promises made by the King, they were continuously harassed; and on one occasion George Fox himself was prosecuted on the charge of having said that he owned no King, and that the King and the Duke of York were bastards. For the Dissenters—to whose prejudice political bias was added to religious—there was the scantiest hope of toleration. Dryden was no doubt a hot Tory, and so was Bishop Parker; yet there is no reason to suppose that they outran the rank and file of the party in the vehemence of their sentiments. Their published expressions of opinion, therefore, may be taken to be fairly representative. This is what Dryden said about the Fanatics: They 'have assumed what amounts to infallibility in the private spirit, and have debated those texts of scripture which are not necessary to salvation to the damnable uses of sedition, disturbance and destruction of the civil Government; . . . never since the Reformation has there wanted a text of their interpreting to authorise a rebel.' [2] To leave the poet for the prelate. This person, of a 'tame and softly humour,' as he styled himself, lamented that the Established Church should be so savagely 'worried by the wild and fanatique rabble'; and that the Church and State should be 'so lamentably embroiled by the pride and insolence of a few peevish ignorant and malapert preachers'; he expatiated in a treatise on 'the palpable inconsistency of fanatique tempers and principles with the welfare and security of Government,' in order to 'awaken authority to beware of its worst and most dangerous enemies'; and making the common association of republicanism and dissent, he declared that he had scarcely ever met, 'any zealous Common-wealth's-

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

[2] Dryden's Preface to *Religio Laici*.

man' whom he could not easily discover 'to have more of the atheist than the politician.' His remark that it is 'an eternal truth, that for the godly party not to be uppermost, is and ever will be persecution,' no doubt expressed what many men were thinking.[1] It is at any rate a curious fact that Lord Keeper Finch, in his speech at the opening of Parliament in 1675, made use of very similar language; the Dissenters, he said, 'have found a way to make even justice itself criminal by giving it a hard name and calling it persecution.'[2]

'A Puritan was ever a rebel; begin with Calvin.'[3] This saying, which was uttered in the House of Commons in 1693, sums up concisely the fundamental belief that underlay the Tory policy during the Restoration period. The notion that a Dissenter was seditious was a sort of postulate or maxim. 'What do the Dissenters terminate in but a Commonwealth?' asked Sir C. Musgrave, and there could be only one answer from the Tory point of view. The preambles of such statutes as the Conventicle and the Five Mile Acts begged the question. Marvell, writing in 1669, observes that the House of Commons received information that there were some dangerous conventicles in Westminster, and meetings where they talk 'of new modells of government.' He noticed too that the House ordered that members should go in a body to thank the King for his proclamation against conventicles.[4] The history of the so-called Rye House conspiracy is instructive, for it brings out into bold relief the view in which the Nonconformist was regarded. The form of prayer, which was ordered to be used in Churches in the Thanksgiving service after the discovery of the plot, ascribed 'the unnatural and hellish conspiracy' to 'the fanatic rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men'; and the resolutions passed by the Court of Quarter Sessions about the same time in Devonshire are even more suggestive. It was resolved that sureties for good behaviour should be required of those persons suspected of having been at conventicles or unlawful meetings, at factious or seditious clubs, or had shown themselves in con-

[1] Parker's *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity.*
[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History,* vol. iv. p. 675.
[3] Grey's *Debates,* vol. ii. p. 134.
[4] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. p. 283, 290.

versation disaffected to the Church or State, or had published seditious libels; that churchwardens and constables should give an account of those who did not attend service every Sunday at their parish churches, and receive the Sacrament thrice a year; that warrants be given to constables to seize all Nonconformist preachers; that a reward of forty shillings be given for every preacher so arrested, and that all absentees from the church services be prosecuted according to the Statute of Elizabeth. What the country squires of Devonshire were doing it is more than probable was being done throughout the length and breadth of England.[1]

It is in the intensity of the conviction that the Dissenters were fundamentally rebels that the real justification of the oppressive rule of the Tories at this time mainly lies. They were too near the time of the Civil War—a war, it must be remembered, in which the Presbyterians and Independents were ranged against the Churchman; the memories were too bitter to allow them to take a magnanimous, or even a just or fair-minded point of view. It took, moreover, a quarter of a century to drive out the haunting fear that an attempt would be made to re-constitute the Commonwealth. It is easy long after that fear has disappeared to blame those who felt it for acting as they did. It is easy, but scarcely philosophical or just.

If, therefore, the policy of the Church party at this period towards dissent cannot be entirely justified, much at least may be said in mitigation of the censure that has commonly been passed upon them.[2] There were other reasons also for their unsympathetic attitude, and to these some reference must be made.

Unity and homogeneity are the distinctive notes of Toryism. Now if there was one thing more than another that ran counter to these distinctive notes it was the progress of dissent. It was here that in a marked degree diversity and heterogeneity were strongly operating forces; for, when dissent from established

[1] King's *Life of Locke, pp.* 141–146.

[2] Cp. Lord Acton's statement: 'The Catholics and the Protestant sects were alike intolerant. The latter deserved what they received, and justified by their theories and their acts the penal laws by which they suffered.'—*Historical Essays and Studies—The Secret History of Charles the Second.*

religious forms has once began, it invariably multiplies itself. Nonconformity, in a word, is anti-Tory : it is a movement in the sphere of religion from homogeneity to heterogeneity ; and it was doubtless for this reason that the Tories, with an instinctive perception of the essential nature of the movement, tried to meet it with all the force at their disposal. The centrifugal and dissociative tendencies of heterodoxy were opposed by the centripetal and agglutinative power of a Church established by the State.

That there was an urgent need for some such countervailing force to hold in check the quickly multiplying forms of diversified belief seemed obvious to the Tories. From the Reformation onwards the Church had been haunted, so to speak, by the fear of heresy and schism. In order to avoid their breaking out, the right of inquiry into the meaning of the Articles of Religion was reserved for Convocation, and anyone, unless a bishop or a dean, was forbidden to preach in public upon ' the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, resistibility or irresistibility of divine grace. Charles I.'s Declaration, prefixed to the Articles, revealed the Churchman's apprehensions. He directed that all further curious search be laid aside, ' that the Articles be taken in ' a literal and grammatical sense ; that no persons at the Universities be permitted to ' affix any new sense to any Article,' or to hold or suffer to be held any public disputation on the subject ; or to preach or print against anything that had been established by Convocation. His aim was to ' tie and restrain all opinions,' that ' nothing might be left for private fancies and innovations.' [1] But such attempts were vain ; the flight of the individual consciousness could in no wise be restrained. In 1647 the House of Commons was so impressed by what appeared to be a national evil, that it ordered a general fast in order to pray God to stop the growth of heresy and schism. Sectarianism, however, rapidly developed. Baxter says that in his youth he met very few Nonconformists, but that during the time of the Rump Parliament five sects appeared, the Vanists, the Seekers, the Ranters, the Quakers, and the Behmonists. There can be no question that from the Reformation onwards the whole nation had been moved by a strong religious

[1] Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

ferment which favoured the formation of particularism. It was said that if a man had lost his religion, he had only to go to London to find one. One industrious author enumerated a hundred and seventy-six heresies, and another estimated the different sects at from forty to fifty. Robert Burton instanced the Anabaptists, Socianians, Brownists, and Familists, and styled them 'A company of rude, illiterate, capricious, base fellows.' And in his own emphatic way he condemned 'all hereticks and schismaticks whatsoever,' their 'preposterous zeal,' their obstinate opinions, and intolerant assumption to have entailed upon them and their posterity 'the fee simple of heaven by a peculiar donation.'[1] Even Milton, who does not appear to have foreseen the consequences of his own teaching, spoke contemptuously of the 'subdichotomies of petty schisms.' It was doubtless for the reason that the Dutch had displayed a natural bent for theological discussion and an aversion from submitting to tradition and authority, that they were regarded with suspicion and dislike by the English Tory party.

If the growth and development of schism was regarded by the Churchman as a menace to national solidarity, his intelligence was offended by what he regarded as a misuse of Holy Scripture. It is a remarkable fact that the Church people, and the Tories generally, thought dissent arose from the reading of the Bible. Hobbes, for instance, said that it was caused by 'the private interpretation of the Scripture exposed to every man's scanning in his mother-tongue.' 'Every man,' he said, 'nay, every boy and wench, that could read English, thought they spoke with God Almighty, and understood what he said.'[2] Dryden was of the same opinion. . . . 'Since the Bible had been translated into our tongue, they have used it so as if their business was not to be saved, but to be damned by its contents.' And he expressed the same thought in lines of surpassing power and vigour :—

> While crowds unlearned, with rude devotion warm,
> About the sacred viands buzz and swarm,
> The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,
> And turns to maggots what was meant for food.[3]

[1] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy.*
[2] Hobbes's *Behemoth.*
[3] Dryden's *Religio Laici.*

That complete liberty in the interpretation of Scripture sometimes engenders notions which are fantastic and grotesque may be allowed; but, it may be pertinently asked, were the Dissenters so numerous or their judgements so extravagant as to justify the fears of those who argued for the paramount authority of the Church? Few statistics are available; but it was calculated in 1676 that the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics together were only one in twenty of the population.[1] In a letter written in that year by Bishop Morley to Danby there is a statement to the effect that in the Archdeaconries of Hampshire and Surrey there were nearly nine thousand Roman Catholics among a population of about one hundred and sixty thousand persons of over sixteen years of age.[2] When in 1689 the Toleration Act was passed, the Dissenters were estimated at only one in twenty-three of the whole English population. There was nothing, therefore, alarming in their numbers. The spirit of enthusiasm—which Hallam has defined as 'Superstition put in motion'—was doubtless not congruous with the stereotyped order of the Church. But outside the Presbyterians and the Independents the sects were unimportant. The most prominent, by reason of their marked peculiarities, were the Quakers, and they were much misunderstood. They were alleged to be Papists in disguise, and were confused with the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Anabaptists. They were charged with magic and witchcraft, and their very Christianity was called in question. Their occasional eccentricities, indeed, attracted attention in a disproportionate degree. The Quaker, for instance, who ran half-naked through Westminster Hall, crying 'Repent! Repent!' with a pan of burning brimstone on his head, need not have been seriously regarded.[3] But the extreme length to which they carried religious individualism, their doctrine of the 'inward light,' their deification of the conscience, to use Coleridge's expression, their contempt for the Church and its priesthood, their provocative phraseology, all tended to bring them into a

[1] Edmund Calamy's *An Historical Account of My Own Life*, edited by J. T. Rutt, p. 80.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xi. part viii.: the Papers of the Duke of Leeds, pp. 14–15.

[3] Pepys's *Diary*.

degree of disfavour beyond that of any other sect. Evelyn, for instance, who saw some of them in prison in 1656, described them as 'a new phanatic sect, of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate, or other, and seem a melancholy proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant.'[1] Their refusal to take any oath had the unfortunate result of making them appear the enemies of authorised government—which they certainly were not. Sir John Birkenhead, speaking in the House of Commons in 1677, exclaimed, 'They acknowledge not the government, they will not swear at all, and there can be no government without oaths, no court, no jury.' Similarly in 1689 it was argued upon the same grounds that no indulgence should be given them.

If the Quakers gave reasonable cause for the apprehensions of the Church, much more so did that insignificant body styled the Muggletonians. Ludowick Muggleton, their leader, taught that the Supreme Being was six feet high, and that the sun was four miles from the earth; while both he and his colleague John Reeves, claiming to have had personal communications from Christ and identifying themselves with the two last witnesses named in the Book of Revelation, arrogated authority to sentence their fellow-creatures to eternal happiness or woe. It is not surprising to discover that one of their disciples was sentenced to stand in the pillory and fined two hundred marks. As to Muggleton himself, he was tried for blasphemy, fined five hundred pounds, and ordered to stand in the pillory, while his books were condemned to be burned before his face. Such sentences seem an outrage upon liberty of thought; but a government can scarcely be blamed for not tolerating what it deemed to be a danger to the State.[2]

Some reference has been made to the manners, the conduct, the avowed opinions and the fundamental doctrines of the various Nonconformist bodies, because such facts as these have to be carefully considered in criticising the conduct of the Tories. No criticism of this kind would be just that failed to take into

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] The *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. 'A Modest Account of the Wicked Life of that Grand Imposter, Ludvick Muggleton'; Farrer's Books condemned to be burned, pp. 115–116.

account their strong conviction that unity in Church and State, receiving its best expression in a uniform faith and a common form of public worship, was essential to national preservation. The character of the Church too was in some respects well suited to play a conciliatory part; for, as Henry Stubbe said, she was 'the least defining, and consequently the most comprehensive and fitting to be national.' Nor can it be denied that there was much in the words and actions of the Dissenters to warrant the fear of their opponents that the nation ran considerable risk of being dissolved into the dust and atoms of individuality. That the fear turned out to be baseless does not alter the fact that it was genuinely felt.

Before leaving the topic of dissent it will be relevant to say a word about the policy of repression that was adopted at this period by the Tories. Something has been already said about the modes of legislation, but that is only a small part of the matter. For repression may be protean in its shapes, and persecution may be manifold and subtle.

The Government, in fact, did not wait for legislation, but proceeded at once to exercise such powers as it was assumed that it possessed. Even as early as 1661 Zachary Crofton, a well-known Presbyterian minister, who had preached strongly against episcopacy, was 'clapped' into the Tower, as Pepys racily described the incident.[1] The Presbyterians, indeed, fared no better than the rest, though they were by no means irreconcilable, and even hoped for some scheme of comprehension. Far different were the Independents, who were much more thorough-going. Even Baxter complained of 'their back-bitings and false accusations.[2] Nevertheless the Act of Uniformity fell with equal severity on both. It is said, indeed, that pensions of fifty pounds a year were offered to the ejected Presbyterian ministers, and that thus they were bribed into submissiveness and silent resignation. But practically all those who did not fully conform suffered alike without distinction. As the inheritors of the Puritan tradition, they became the victims of the popular dislike with which the 'godly party' had been all along regarded. Now that the restraints had been removed, the stream of ridicule and contumely rushed down. It is sup-

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

[2] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 298.

posed that Milton in writing his *Samson Agonistes* intended to depict the fallen Puritan, and certainly the picture he has drawn embodies in a figurative manner the spirit of the time. There is a world of pathos in some of the remarks of Pepys; as when, for instance, he records that Ben Jonson's comedy, *Bartholomew Fair*, was acted for the first time after a lapse of forty years, 'it being so satiricall against Puritanism, they durst not till now'; or again, when in 1668 he notes that 'the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that at last will be found the wisest.'[1] Marvell too tells us that he knew a clergyman who found an easy way of winning the favour of his patron by a 'mimical way of drolling upon the Puritans.'[2] The Presbyterians, in like manner, met with no small amount of ridicule. Pepys, for instance, says that he read 'a merry book against the Presbyters called Cabbala, extraordinary witty,' and that on one occasion, when he dined at Lambeth with the Archbishop, one of the guests actually mimicked the Presbyterian mode of praying and preaching.[3] If such things were done at Lambeth, what happened elsewhere may be imagined. Never perhaps before or since have any religious bodies been made the butts of such tremendous satire as were the Nonconformists in the reign of Charles II. The genius of Butler never shone so brightly nor moved with so much spring and spontaneity as it did when it employed itself in aiming its barbed shafts at the victims of his ridicule. The touch of Dryden was not so light as that of Butler; but his satire, coming, as it did, from the greatest English man of letters of his time, perhaps carried greater weight and influence. There were besides other modes of persecution, beyond merely carrying out the statutory provisions of the law. One of these was vituperation from the pulpit. Pepys noted some of these sermons which were preached before the King at Whitehall. One preacher, he says, 'railed bitterly ever and anon against John Calvin and his brood, the Presbyterians, and against the present term, now in use, of "tender consciences."' Another bitter sermon affirmed that the greater part of the magistrates were Puritans, who would not carry out the law, and that the bishops were

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. iii. p. 48
[3] Pepys's *Diary*.

prevented from exercising their powers as they ought.[1] Again, apart from special legislation the law was invoked whenever it could be turned to the disadvantage of the sects. When, for example, a legacy of six hundred pounds was left to be distributed to sixty poor ejected ministers, the Court of Chancery, upon the motion of the Attorney-General, gave it to the Crown.[2] In 1681 some Nonconformist publicans were deprived of their licences by the Middlesex magistrates.[3] Daniel Burgess, one of the most eloquent Nonconformist preachers of his time, was ejected from his place in the Marlborough Corporation, because of an alleged seditious sermon.[4] In 1670, an Order in Council was passed for abolishing seats and pulpits in conventicles.[5] The suggestion that Dissenters should be fined, because their religion was 'tied to their purse-strings,' was doubtless popular, but it was not carried into practice. In 1664 the clergy petitioned the House of Commons to increase the penalty for not attending Church, and the spiritual courts were put in motion for the purpose of issuing citations of excommunication to those who did not attend and did not receive the Sacrament. Proceedings of this kind, for example, were taken against so high a personage as the Countess of Anglesey.[6] Nor were evasions of the law that prohibited Dissenters from keeping schools without a licence passed over with indulgence.

The examples that have been cited were but signs and indications of an organised system of repression. For the provisions of the special legislation were carried out with vigour. It might, indeed, be said that the sport of baiting the Dissenter was indulged in with considerable zest. We read that in 1661 Sir Ralph Verney was busy in receiving proclamations about prosecuting fanatics and dispersing their meetings.[7] If any spur was required by the laity, it was afforded by the Church. Archbishop Sheldon was distinguished for his zeal in this direc-

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

[2] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 350.

[3] Foxcroft's *Life of the Marquis of Halifax*, vol. ii. p. 305.

[4] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. ii. p. 567.

[5] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts vii. and viii. : The Papers of S. H. Le Fleming, p. 71.

[6] Lady Newdigate-Newdegate's *Cavalier and Puritan*, p. 99.

[7] *The Verney Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 8.

tion; and he not only supported the passing of the Conventicle Act, but he spared no pains in seeing that it was rigorously obeyed. In this good work he was well supported by his kinsman, Sir Joseph Sheldon, who in 1676 was Lord Mayor of London. The Primate desired the bishops in his province to carry on 'so blessed a work as the preventing and suppressing of conventicles,' which the King and Parliament had ordered 'out of their pious care for the welfare of the Church and Kingdom.' Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, of all the bishops was perhaps the one who displayed the most industry in carrying out this blessed work. Hundreds in his diocese were persecuted; and, in fact, he so harried the Dissenters that a petition alleging that he was ruining the Salisbury cloth trade was presented to the Privy Council.[1] So thoroughly in some parts had the work of purging of dissent been carried out that Lord Abingdon, the Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, declared that he could not meet with a single Nonconformist minister, having, as he said, 'taken some pains heretofore to ferret them out.'[2] The amount of misery inflicted in this way must indeed have been enormous. One or two illustrations, however, must suffice. The case of William Jenkyn was particularly sad. This unfortunate individual had suffered imprisonment under the Protectorate for taking part in a conspiracy to restore Charles II., but he escaped and submitted a humble petition to the Government. Yet he was ejected under the Act of Uniformity and imprisoned for attending a conventicle. Refusing to take the oath of non-resistance, he was thrown into Newgate, where he died. The mourning rings given by his daughter, bearing the inscription, 'Mr. William Jenkyn murdered in Newgate,' helped to inflame the Nonconformist sympathy for this victim of oppression. The case of Thomas Delaune, an Irish Roman Catholic, who became a Baptist, was scarcely less pathetic. His *Plea for the Nonconformist*—which Defoe afterwards reprinted with a preface—was held to be a seditious libel; he was fined and in default of payment was committed to Newgate. There his wife and children joined him, but as the amount of the fine could not be raised, he lingered within its walls until he died. To Bunyan's

[1] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, pp. 285, 290, 322.
[2] *The Verney Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 350.

long detention it is scarcely necessary to refer; from 1660 to 1672 he was hardly ever out of Bedford gaol. Things had moved very fast since 1660, when he was allowed by the Rector of Yeldon to occupy his pulpit. When the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 released him, he was merely licensed at Leicester to preach as a 'congregational parson.'[1]

A few incidents may be briefly referred to as illustrating the efforts of Tory domination. If a zealous Tory happened to die unexpectedly, it was alleged by the Dissenters that his death was a judgement from Heaven for his cruel acts of persecution. Several instances of this kind are related. That all sorts of subterfuges were devised for the purpose of holding conventicles in secret was only to be expected. An amusing plan is said to have been adopted by some Presbyterians. At their meetings they placed tobacco pipes, bread, cheese and cold meat upon the table, and if an officer of the law appeared, they forthwith fell to eating. The Tory inclination of the lawyers has already been referred to, but an instance of their aversion from dissent may here without irrelevance be mentioned. When in 1684 a number of new serjeants-at-law were admitted, and the usual presentations made, and speeches delivered at their several Inns of Court, those at Gray's Inn were congratulated on the fact 'that their happiness was that no Protestant dissenting brethren were among them.'[2] It is evident that nonconformity did not tend to facilitate advance in the profession of the law.

The picture that has been outlined is not a pleasant one to contemplate; for there was, indeed, but too much truth in Baxter's description of the position of those who had the courage to avow their disagreement with the Church. 'Some of us,' he said, 'sit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, and some lie in prisons, and all of us are accounted as the scum and sweepings and off-scourings of the earth.'[3] The pathos of the situation seems all the greater to those who can look back from the point of view of later times, because it is possible to see that the policy of persecution failed in a large measure of its intended object.

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* viii.: The Papers of the Corporation of Leicester, p. 440.

[2] Lady Newdigate-Newdegate's *Cavalier and Puritan*, pp. 96–97.

[3] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*.

The member of parliament who said in the House of Commons in 1669 that persecuted persons are like tops—' whip them, and they stand up, let them alone and they fall' [1]—uttered a great truth under the guise of a humorous illustration. It may be doubted whether any but a very few Dissenters were turned into genuine conformists. Nor is it less certain that much injury to trade resulted. For, as Sir Edward Seymour, himself a strong Tory, very justly said, ' if a man finds not his account in the government he lives under, he will never labour to support it ; the effects of the Act of Uniformity have been much for the good of Holland in point of trade.' But in spite of all obstacles, the Nonconformists pushed their way to the front in business, in the Exchange, the office and the mart. As they were serious in the practice of religion, so they were shrewd in secular affairs. Even a Quaker was chosen Sheriff of London in 1673, though he guarded himself by putting into the bond which he signed on taking office words to the effect that he should not be asked to do anything ' contrary to the commands of Christ.' [2] William Kiffin, a London merchant and a Baptist, affords another illustration. His success in business was so great, that Charles II. asked him for a loan of forty thousand pounds, though he only obtained a quarter of that sum. Nor was there any insuperable obstacle to even an Anabaptist making money. There was at least an instance of one who was a wealthy brewer.[3] The dark shadows of the picture are, therefore, to some extent relieved.

The history of the treatment of dissent by the Church is of considerable interest and importance in relation to Toryism, because the question of religion as a factor in national power and solidarity is immediately involved. In holding, as they did, that religious uniformity was a consolidating force, the Tories could point to the experience of ages, to traditional practice, and even, as it were, to the instincts of human nature. They had strong grounds for their belief, because in fact what may be called the Church and State theory has been widely held and had

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 220.

[2] *Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, edited by W. D. Christie, vol. ii. p. 15.

[3] *The Verney Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 225.

shown how deeply patriotism could be rooted in the profession of a national religion. The idea that a nation in its collective capacity should profess a single faith, the belief that religion is not merely a matter of individual choice, but a thing of special moment to a man in his capacity as citizen ; the conviction that religious unity is a guarantee and symbol of national unity—all this constitutes the real justification of the Tories. Add to this that the England of their time had not yet quite emerged from what, adopting the Comtist phraseology, we have called the theological stage of evolution, and it will be seen that the intellectual atmosphere was favourable to the Tory mental prepossessions. Inclined to see everywhere, both in nature and society, the constant interference of the Deity, and thinking that the agency of Providence might be invoked to modify events, men attached much importance to liturgical forms and to the dogmas of theology. As the welfare and safety of the State depended on the will of the Almighty, it was deemed to be a matter of paramount concern not only that right opinions touching His attributes should be held, but also that He should be worshipped in the most appropriate manner. In holding what may be called a theory of religious collectivism, the Tories were moulded by tradition and by their intellectual environment. It was perhaps under the circumstances an inevitable attitude for them to adopt, but they greatly over-estimated the power of religion as a national consolidating force. That power in English life was even then already waning, and, as subsequent events have proved, religious individualism was not the great disintegrating element that they supposed it was.

The wheel had now come full circle, and the Church found herself in the heyday of her power ; to use Bunyan's quaint expression, she walked in silver slippers in the sunshine, and with applause. The time, indeed, had passed when Churchmen took prominent parts in the secular government of the State, when Juxon could take office as Lord High Treasurer, and he and Laud could sit with Strafford in that Committee which, says Clarendon, was reproachfully styled ' the Junto.' Yet it may be doubted whether she ever exercised greater authority and influence than she did from the Restoration of 1660 to the Revolution of 1688. The liberal movement that was in progress

within her own circle had been effectually crushed out by the rebellion, and much of the old Laudian spirit was revived. Never too perhaps had her alliance with the State been brought into greater prominence. Subjected, on the one hand, to such drastic parliamentary legislation as the Act of Uniformity, and, on the other, to the royal proclamations which the Crown deemed itself competent to make, she seemed to be branded indelibly with the mark of secularity. She paid for State support at the price of diminished spiritual power, she became a political engine, almost a parliamentary creation. Her relations to the State, for want of that specialisation of functions, which at this time was exhibited in every political department, were ill-defined, but they left her but little independence. She even surrendered her immemorial right of self-taxation. Consider for a moment the ecclesiastical prerogatives, which were vested in the Crown as her Supreme Ruler and Defender of the Faith. When the wearer of the Crown was such a man as Charles II., there was something incongruous and grotesque in the mere possession of the titles. Pepys, remarking on the evil influences that worked upon the King, observed that 'a bishop shall never be seen about him'[1]—an allegation which, if true, is certainly not surprising. A monarch who throughout life acted on the principle that God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure, was not likely to display much conscientious zeal in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority. Yet he clung to his prerogatives and never waived his claim to the power of dispensation in regard to parliamentary statutes affecting the position of the Church. He did even more than this. In a letter. for instance, written in 1662 to the archbishops, he dilated on the disorders caused by the extravagant language used by preachers and on the mischief that arose from young and inexperienced clergy handling 'the deep points of God's eternal counsels'; and again in 1663 he issued a proclamation directing the enforcement of the penalties for neglecting Church attendance, condemning Sunday trading and ordering the declaration against vicious and debauched persons to be read for six months in every church and chapel. A clergyman at Bury St. Edmunds

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

received marks of his displeasure merely because he was accused of preaching Presbyterian doctrine.[1]

Of all ties that bound the State and Church together perhaps the strongest was the arrogated right of the Crown to nominate the bishops; and whatever may be thought of it politically, there was perhaps no practice that tended more to secularise the Church or to render it unpopular. The claim of the episcopal order to be a divinely-appointed institution exacerbated the popular antipathy with which it was regarded. There can be very little doubt that episcopacy was very unpopular and, therefore, prejudicial to the spiritual influence of the Church. To say, with a modern writer, that the upper classes of society find something congenial in the episcopal order, because they enjoy 'the spectacle of an irregularity of rank which is conventional and does not depend upon ability,' is, indeed, to go too far;[2] but in the seventeenth century the bishops were not, to say the least, in sympathetic touch with the masses of the people; witness the indictment in the Root and Branch petition. It was therein alleged that the government of the Church by the bishops was dangerous and harmful, because they had 'claimed their calling immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ'; that their 'pride and ambition' was 'boundless'; and that being 'unwilling to be subject either to man or laws, they claim their office and jurisdiction to be *jure divino*.'[3] Falkland, so the story went, was fond of saying 'that they who hated bishops hated them more worse than the devil and they who loved them, loved them not so well as they did their dinners'; and royalist though he was, he did not hesitate to say that if the prelates were not *jure divino*, they were also not *injuria humana*.[4]

With the re-establishment of the Church in 1660 the old feeling of animosity towards the bishops was revived, and it is probable that their own demeanour did something to provoke it. Pepys, at any rate, was quite clear upon the point. 'The bishops,

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv., parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of the Corporation of Lincoln, p. 146.

[2] Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, ch. xvii.

[3] Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

[4] Tulloch's *Rational Theology*, vol. i. p. 141; cp. Selden's *Table Talk*, viii.: 'However some of the Bishops pretend to be *jure divino*, yet the Practice of the Kingdom hath ever been otherwise.'

he says, ' are so high that very few do love them ' ; their ' height is such that he fears they will ruin all again ' ; they ' carry themselves so high,' and ' go on without diffidence in pressing uniformity ' ; they and their hierarchy ' must certainly fall,' ' and they do well deserve it.' Nor did he spare the clergy generally. They are, he says, ' hated and laughed at by everybody among other things for their excommunications which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be.' He even charged them with ' pride and debauchery.' [1] This is strong testimony, coming from a Tory. Still stronger was that of so whole-hearted an admirer of the Church as Evelyn, who declared that at the Restoration the bishops missed a great opportunity, being ' remisse, and covetous after advantages of another kind.' [2] Hobbes, indeed, was no lover of the bishops, but his remark that they were ' too imperious ' to be popular could not have been quite without foundation. Some of them at least were suspected of popish inclinations ; thus Pepys says of Heylyn's ' Life of Laud,' then recently published, that it would do the bishops ' no great good,' but hurt—it pleads for so much popish.' [3] It is, however, only fair to say that some of the prelates themselves displayed a more conciliatory spirit than the majority of their colleagues on the bench. Stillingfleet's *Irenicon* contained a very able argument that the episcopal order, though expedient, was not essential nor a divine institution ; and *The Friendly Debate* of Patrick approximated towards the same conclusion.

What may be called the ecclesiastical intolerance of the Church seems the more remarkable, when her attitude towards doctrinal theology is considered. For in this direction she was singularly tolerant. To say, as was said by Mr. Gladstone, that Laud was ' a tolerant theologian,' seems almost paradoxical, yet there is some truth in the assertion. The Church's liberality in the sphere of theological speculation was disclosed by the growth of Arminianism and the rise of the Latitudinarian party.

Arminianism—described by Matthew Arnold as ' an effort of man's practical good sense to get rid of what is shocking to it in Calvinism ' [4]—is to be ultimately traced to the efforts of Jacob

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*. [3] Pepys's *Diary*.
[4] M. Arnold's *St. Paul and Protestantism*.

Arminius, Rector of the University of Leyden, to mitigate the harshness of the doctrine of predestination. It was an intellectual temper that did not at first commend itself to the majority of Englishmen. James I., who showed the bitterest animosity to Vorstius, the disciple and successor of Arminius, expressed no doubt the feeling of his people ; and if the clergy of Arminian opinions had not favoured his pretensions on questions of prerogative, it is probable that he would not have tolerated their existence in the Church. With the Puritan party Arminianism was decidedly unpopular. It was suspected of popish inclinations ; for it insisted on the freedom of the will and minimised the Calvinistic Articles, while it made much of the Liturgy which was Roman in its origin. The suspicion was avowed in the Grand Remonstrance of 1641, where it was charged against certain evil persons that they cherished 'the Arminian part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists.'[1] In 1648 the Presbyterians tried to induce Parliament to imprison, among others, those who professed Arminian doctrines. That Calvinism, broadly speaking, was congenial to the masses and Arminianism to the classes, there indeed can be no doubt. Whether, as a modern writer has ingeniously argued, the former is the natural religion of the poor, and the latter of the rich, because 'a creed which insists upon the necessity of faith must be less costly than one which insists upon the necessity of works,' is one of those questions upon which opinions will much differ.[2] But the fact remains that Arminianism, though free from any taint of popery, was disliked by the Puritans. In the Church, on the other hand, its influence grew. When Bishop Morley was asked by a country gentleman what the Arminian clergy held, he replied, all the best bishoprics and deaneries in England. The saying, if not exactly true, was at all events significant.

The origin of the English Latitudinarians may be ascribed perhaps to Chillingworth, whose *Religion of Protestants* marked a distinct step forward in the history of toleration. The proposition he advanced, that there was nothing sinful in the errors of conscientious men, was at any rate no longer shocking to the pious. But it was from the Cambridge Platonists that

[1] Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*
[2] Buckle's *History of Civilisation,* ch. xiv.

Latitudinarianism was immediately descended. As, said Kant, Plato left the world of sense, which set too narrow limits to his intellect, and ventured beyond on the wings of ideas into the empty space of pure understanding, even so the Platonists soared as it were into the region of a mystical theology. Yet they were remarkable for the readiness of their acceptance of the newest scientific knowledge and for their repugnance to scholasticism. Insisting more on Christian ethics than on Christian dogma they aimed at the construction of a body of 'moral divinity.' The sayings of Whichcote that 'the spirit in man is the candle of the Lord, lighted by God, and lighting man to God'; that religion is 'a seed of deiform nature,' and that Heaven is first a temper and then a place; or those of Henry More, that the oracle of God is not to be heard but in His holy Temple—that is to say, in a good and holy man, and that 'God reserves His choicest secrets for the purest minds,' may serve to illustrate their intellectual texture.[1]

Both upon religious and æsthetic grounds they loved the Church and its liturgy, but, says Burnet, 'they did not think it unlawful to live under another form,' and 'they allowed,' he continues, 'a great freedom both in philosophy and divinity, from whence they were called men of latitude. And upon this, men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians.'[2] That they met with ridicule is clear. They were called gentlemen of 'a wide swallow,' and even Dryden referred to them in slighting terms as 'sons of latitude,' 'sons of breadth,' and 'broadway sons.'[3] Yet they gradually leavened the Church by their liberality of thought and their accessibility to new ideas, and redeemed her from falling merely into a one-sided and narrow party organ. They aroused her from the danger of falling into the dignified slumber of dogmatic uniformity. 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty'—that was largely the burden of their teaching. Wilkins and Glanvill did something to bridge the gulf that separated science from religion, and to destroy the sectarianism of knowledge, while such men as Stillingfleet and Tillotson did incal-

[1] Tulloch's *Rational Theology*, vol. ii.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 341–343.
[3] Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, part iii.

culable service by their moderating influence. In any age, when, as Stillingfleet said, 'people talked of religion most and lived it least'—an age he described as *sæculum fertile religionis sterile pietatis*—it was well for men to be reminded that Christianity was something more than dogma, and that theology was, in Jeremy Taylor's noble words, not a divine knowledge, but a divine life.

The presence and growing influence of the Arminians and of the Latitudinarians in the Church is not without importance in the history of Toryism. For the first by setting her free from the blight of Calvinistic bigotry, and the second by imbuing her with a larger spirit and by widening her horizon, saved her from turning into that which she would have otherwise become—that is to say, a mere organ for the propagation of Tory doctrines in their least refined and rational forms. It is to the Latitudinarians chiefly that it is due that those doctrines were transfigured by the light of a more gracious benignity.

Though the Church partook so largely of the character of the political partisan, it would be an error to suppose that she was animated only, or even mainly, by self-regarding ends. For, as Defoe well remarked, she was wiser than her doctrines; and her practice was better than her theory. Her political principles were only kept in stock to be enunciated on the occasion of a great constitutional crisis. She, in fact, did a grand spiritual work in the face of many obstacles and in very difficult times; for there were many devoted priests who showed forth the beauty of holiness in their lives amid uncongenial surroundings. The fact that her most devoted adherents, the Cavaliers, plunged into unbridled self-indulgence out of pure opposition to the Puritan austerity was certainly embarrassing; and scarcely less so was the contrast between royalty in the abstract and royalty in the concrete in the person of Charles II. It was not easy to profess attachment to the monarchy without at the same time appearing to condone the vices of the sovereign.

While a Tory Parliament was chiefly occupied in forging fetters for the repression of dissent, a great Tory satirist was employing all his powers of mordant wit to pour ridicule upon those who were already being crushed beneath the legislative hammer. Among the strongest Tory forces of the time—at

least in the comparatively small circle of the reading and educated class—must be accounted the satirical poems of Samuel Butler. This singular personage is in the history both of English politics and literature a very interesting figure, for it may perhaps be said that literature, in the pure sense of the term, was for the first time, unless we except Milton, in his person yoked into the service of the party politician. Hitherto sermons, pamphlets and the like, written with some direct political object had swarmed thick as 'ubiquitary flies,' to use the quaint words of Bishop Earle. But otherwise the literary form had not been used to any extent as the vehicle for political argumentation or invective; and at any rate such efforts as had been made had exercised no influence at all comparable with that of Butler's verse. He may be said to be the progenitor of a long literary line—a line of particular interest in the history of the Tories. For whether it be the fact that the follies of the Whigs have been peculiarly open to satirical assaults, or whether it be merely accidental, it would be certainly true to say that the great English satirists have been usually ranged upon the Tory side. But, however that may be, the name of Samuel Butler stands conspicuous among the Tories of his time.

There is not much that is known with any certainty about Butler's early years. He is said to have been born in 1612 or thereabouts at Strensham in Worcestershire, and to have received his education at the Worcester Free School, and perhaps afterwards at Westminster and either at Oxford or Cambridge. He then, so it is related, entered the service of the Countess of Kent and studied painting; and there is a story told that Cromwell sat to him for his portrait. Thence he passed successively into the services of a justice's clerk in Worcestershire, of Sir Samuel Luke in Bedfordshire, and Sir Henry Rosewell at Ford Abbey. Sir Samuel was a thorough-going Puritan, and whether it be true or not that he was the prototype of Hudibras, it is evident that Butler's intimate acquaintance with the eccentricities of Puritanism must have been chiefly acquired during this portion of his life. He was afterwards accused of black ingratitude towards his former patron, whose bounty he is said to have enjoyed; but it is impossible to say that the author of *Hudibras* intended anything but to depict a type. If it

be true that in 1659 he penned a royalist tract, he must have been laying his account for the approaching turn in fortune's wheel. At any rate the Restoration had scarcely been accomplished before he was installed at Ludlow Castle as Steward to the Earl of Carbery, the Lord President of Wales. At Ludlow he did not tarry long; for whether it was owing to his marriage, or because he was desirous of devoting himself entirely to literary work, he resigned his appointment. That he was not idle, it is clear, because it was in 1663 that the first part of *Hudibras* was published. To say that it attracted a good deal of attention would be to understate the facts; it was much more than a book of the season, to be read and tossed aside; it was an event in politics and literature.

What manner of man was this who thus suddenly blazed out into fame? In appearance he is said to have been of middle height, strongly built, high-coloured, with a head of sorrel hair; in his judgement he was thought to be 'severe and sound.' In society he was welcomed as 'a good fellow' and 'a boon and witty companion, especially among the company he knew well.' [1] It is probable, however, that his keen wit and bitter tongue betrayed him into saying things that left a sting behind; for Aubrey's comment that 'satyricall wits disoblige those whom they converse with' would otherwise be pointless. Of the remainder of his life—for he lived till 1680—there is not much to be said beyond the fact that the second and third parts of *Hudibras* were published in 1664 and 1678 respectively, though without hitting the mark in the manner of the first. In his last years the poor old man sank into indigence and a pitiful obscurity; and if Roger North is to be credited, had it not been for the kindness of his friend William Longueville, who visited him at his house in Rose Street, Covent Garden, 'he might have literally starved.' [2]

That the effect produced by the publication of the first part of *Hudibras* was immediate and immense there is plenty of evidence to show. The royal patronage alone almost made the fortune of the book. Clarendon thought so highly of it that he hung the author's portrait in a conspicuous position in his

[1] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*; Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. pp. 340, 617.
[2] North's *Life of Lord Guilford*.

house. Pepys is a witness to its enormous popularity, though he does not appear to have been able to appreciate its wit. He relates how he bought 'a new book of drollery in verse,' and how, finding in it 'so silly an abuse of the Presbyter knight going to the wars,' he sold it at a reduced price. Not wishing however, to be out of the fashion, he bought another copy, feeling it must have been 'some ill-humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit.' Afterwards he bought the first and second parts, and called it 'the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies.' [1] The extent to which the poem was, so to speak, absorbed by the reading public may be gathered from the fact that at Baxter's trial, Jeffreys, the presiding judge, interlarded his abuse of the defendant with apt quotations from it. Admiration was even extorted from critics who were anything but Tory in their sympathies. Marvell, for example, did not grudge his praise of Butler's 'excellent wit.' It is a curious testimony to the literary taste of the time that Sir William Petty told Pepys in the course of conversation that the three books 'most esteemed and generally cried up for wit' were *Religio Medici*, Osborne's *Advice to a Son*, and *Hudibras*; but he added the comment—often repeated from that day to the present—that 'good writers are not admired by the present age.' [2]

The strongest proof of the importance of *Hudibras* from a political point of view is the fact that Butler was considered by the Tories to have a strong claim upon their party. It was expected that the King would have rewarded him in some way, and he was bitterly reproached for his alleged neglect of one who had done so much for the triumphant cause. It is, however, probable that Butler was not an easy man to help, and that he refused to accept some bits of patronage. Nor should it be forgotten that by writing the third part of *Hudibras* —in which he did not spare the vices of the Court—he to a large extent forfeited his claims upon the King.

Butler's claims for the rewards of political partisanship were thought to be unimpeachable, and the royal neglect of

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.

him was the subject of much censure. In himself he seemed to illustrate the fate of those who, to use his own words—

> Still, the better they deserve,
> Are but the abler thought to starve.

He became, in fact, a stock example of the ingratitude of monarchs to literary men. Dryden, for instance, writing to the Earl of Rochester, observed that it was enough for one age to have neglected Mr. Cowley and starved Mr. Butler. It was not until 1721 that John Barber, a Lord Mayor of London, paid a tardy tribute to his memory by erecting a monument in Westminster Abbey—a public-spirited act for which Pope rewarded him with the couplet:

> But whence this Barber, that a name so mean
> Should, joined with Butler's, on a tomb be seen?

This is not the place to attempt to estimate Butler's place in English literature, because it is only as a factor in the history of Toryism that it would here be relevant to speak of him. But it may perhaps be permitted to make some observations which it is hoped will throw some light on his relations to the political world he so much stirred and entertained. It is, for instance, curious to discover that *Hudibras* was in parts found obscure even by contemporary readers, and that a key to it was published. There is evidence, too, to show that people relished the satire of the third part, which was directed at the Court, as much as that of the previous parts that struck at the Puritans. Lady Chaworth, for example, wrote to her brother Lord Ross to say that she was sending him a present of a copy. 'I have,' she said, 'presented your lordship with the last part of *Hudibras*, to help to heighten your mirth this Christmas, for I think this book not inferior to his first part, and two of your acquaintances have their pictures drawn in it, the most to the lyfe in the world, the king says.' [1]

It is, too, above all to be remembered that Butler's reputation in his lifetime rested practically on the several parts of *Hudibras*, and that some of his most characteristic writings were not

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts v. and vi.: The Papers of the Royal Tapestry Works at Mortlake, p. 44.

published till long after his decease. Posterity therefore has more material on which to form its judgement, and is in a better position to appreciate his genius. His posthumous prose works are in point of style considered by many to be superior to his poems, and for epigrammatic wit and concentrated satire they are certainly not behind them. It was perhaps fortunate for himself that some of his sketches were kept locked up in his desk, for they would have raised him many enemies. They are none the less valuable as revelations of how politics and society must have appeared when regarded from the extreme Tory point of view. In this sense they are veritable photographic records. His description of *A Modern Statesman*, for example, was absolutely true of many of those who sat at the council table in the reign of Charles II. : 'As for wisdom and judgment, with those other out-of-fashioned qualifications which have been so highly esteemed heretofore, they have not been found to be so useful in this age . . . raillery and fooling is proved by frequent experiments to be the more easy and certain way, for as the Germans heretofore were observed to be wisest when they were drunk and knew not how to dissemble, so are our modern statesmen when they are mad.' Or take, again, his description of *A Leader of a Faction*. 'He is like a figure in arithmetic : the more ciphers he stands before, the more his value amounts to. . . . All his politics are speculative and for the most part unpracticable, full of curious niceties that tend only to prevent future imaginary inconveniences with greater real and present.' His remarks on *A Factious Member* seem as applicable now as they were at the time when they were written. 'It is sufficient to assure him that the public money has been diverted from the proper uses it was raised for because he has had no share of it himself, and the government ill managed because he has no hand in it.' His gibe at the hypocritical Nonconformist—that whereas the first Christians were commanded to obey for conscience sake, he commanded his brother-Nonconformists to be disobedient for the same reason—would have delighted a Churchman in search of an argument. That the demagogue was already not unknown in English politics is evident from his saying of *An Haranguer* that he would hold any argument rather than his tongue. In what he says about the Latitudinarians he gives

what may be called the average Tory point of view. 'He does not greatly care to live within the pale of the Church, but had rather the Church live within his pale. He believes the way to Heaven is never the better for being strait, and if it could be made wider it would be much more convenient.' And who can doubt that in his comments on the Quaker he truly represented the vulgar opinions of society? 'He is the link-boy of the Sectaries, and talks much of his light, and puts it under a bushel, for nobody can see it but himself. . . . . There was a butcher of their Church that renounced his trade, and turned preacher, because he held it superstitious to sit cross-legged.' His character of *A Republican* is delightful for its amused disdain of a party that over-rated its own importance: 'They mould governments, as children do dirt-pyes, only to busy and please themselves, tho' to no purpose.'

Some of Butler's detached sayings have a value quite apart from their relation to the society and politics of his time. They help us to appreciate him more justly as a man of letters, and to see that he was a good deal more than a coarse-grained reviler of those whose political and religious opinions he cordially detested. A few quotations will show that he could rise to higher levels, and that he could write without straining after an epigrammatic expression of his thoughts. 'Accident is but a term invented to relieve ignorance of causes'; 'the enmities of religious people would never rise to such a height were it not for their mistake that God is better served with their opinions than their practices'; 'there are more fools than knaves in the world, else the knaves would not have enough to live upon'; 'public actions are like watches that have fine cases of gold or silver, with a window of christal to see the pretences; but the movement is of baser metal, and the original of all, the spring, a crooked piece of steel'; 'oaths and obligations in the affairs of the world are like ribbands and knots in dressing that seem to tie something, but do not at all, for nothing but interest does really oblige.' In sayings such as these there is just a touch of cynicism, but they represent not the appearances but the realities of things. Yet, in looking back at Butler, it is difficult not to feel that he erred by the excesses of his qualities, and that he would have been a greater power had he been a little more good-

humoured and less pitilessly cruel in his satire. His pen was dipped in gall and his wit was too continuous. The unceasing glare of his rather malignant coruscations is apt to blind the modern reader, who usually soon has enough of *Hudibras*. But, after making all deductions, Butler remains a supremely interesting figure in the history of Toryism.

Butler's *Hudibras* was a wonderful example of the power of the written word in political affairs, and its extraordinary success raises an interesting question: what, that is to say, was the attitude taken up towards the press by the Tories in the days of their predominance. The answer to the question is not far to seek. The government simply adopted the expedient, which had been regularly resorted to hitherto by every government of whatever party and of whatever shade of political opinion, of suppressing the publication of views distasteful or hostile to itself, and of permitting that of those of a contrary tendency. It seemed a very easy plan, which might have been successful if it had not been for the fact—than which nothing has been more clearly proved in the history of mankind—that thought will in the long run, in spite of all obstacles, find a vent for its expression. Like the wind, it bloweth where it listeth; like the lightning, it shines from one point of the heavens to another. The attempts of the governments from 1660 to 1688 to abridge liberty of thought and speech form an interesting phase in the history of Toryism, and throw a side light on its practical methods of operation. The boundaries of literature and journalism march together, or rather they insensibly merge into one another; so that, in this connexion, the book, the pamphlet, and the journal cannot nicely be distinguished or be separately considered. But the journal is, from the political point of view, the most important of the three; agile, persistent, and alert, its influence is incomparably the the most immediate and direct. In the following observations therefore it is the journal which will be more particularly kept in view.

Into the earlier history of the press regulations it is unnecessary here to enter. Their illiberal character may be judged from the fact that it was the ordinances passed by the Long Parliament in 1643 that called forth Milton's *Areopagitica*.

It really seemed, to use his own words, as though to 'eyes bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom' truth was 'more unsightly and unplausible than many errors.' Nor can it be said that the Republican government was from this point of view much better than its predecessors. The journal, still in its infancy, lived but a precarious existence; but the value of a government journalistic organ had already been discovered. Perhaps the earliest example of these was the *Mercurius Aulicus*, edited for the Court at Oxford from 1643 to 1645 by John Birkenhead. It was said to have been written with 'a good deal of wit and buffoonery'; but the editor was thought to be 'too much given to bantering,' and he was relieved of his post to make way for Peter Heylin, obtaining by way of compensation the professorship of Moral Philosophy at Oxford. On the other side, the Parliamentary party followed the tactics of the Royalists, and George Wither, the poet, is said to have edited a Republican journal, the *Mercurius Rusticus*. During the period of the Commonwealth the Republican cause was energetically championed in the press by Needham; so that when the Restoration was accomplished, the nation was already quite familiar with this mode of political propagandism.[1]

A foretaste of the spirit in which the restored monarchical government was about to treat the press was given by the immediate appointment of the old Court journalist, John Birkenhead, as licenser. This zealous and energetic Tory had been Secretary to Laud before he took to journalism. Upon the failure of the royal cause he lost his professorship and fellowship at Oxford and retired to London, where it is said he 'lived by his wits in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts in making songs and epistles on and to their respective mistresses, as also in translating and writing several little things and other petite employments.'[2] A man described as being 'of middling stature,' with 'great goggle eyes, not of sweet aspect,'[3] could scarcely have been an engaging personality, but he reaped his reward for his fidelity to party. Not only was he appointed press licenser, but he was given the control of two journals, *The Kingdom's Intelligencer* and the *Mercurius Publicus*, which were

[1] Fox Bourne's *English Newspapers*, pp. 11–13.
[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. [3] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.

alleged to be founded in order to prevent the dissemination of false news, and were regularly published until 1663. Meanwhile honours fell upon him thick and fast. He was successively elected member of parliament, knighted, and, upon his retirement from his office in 1663, was made a Master of Requests. But an all-powerful Tory Government was not likely to be satisfied with anything less than some drastic legislation. This took shape in the Act of 1662 for regulating the press. It provided that every book should be registered with the Stationers' Company; that law books should be licensed by the Lord Chancellor or the Chief Justices; books on history and politics by the Secretary of State; books on heraldry by the King-at-Arms; books on divinity, physics and philosophy by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; and books published at the Universities by their respective Chancellors. It limited the number of master-printers to twenty, and prohibited the printing of any books out of London, except at York, Oxford, and Cambridge. Enacted first for three years only, the statute was twice re-enacted, and suffered to expire in 1679. Yet, stringent though it was, it may be doubted whether the Act fully satisfied the minds of many Tories. The Duke of Newcastle, for example, thought that newspaper-reading was injurious to the nation, because 'every man is become a statesman,' and urged that the writing of news, and especially of news-letters, which to a large extent supplied the place of journals, should be forbidden.[1] He imagined that if news was not supplied, people would talk only of such things as hunting, hawking, bowling and cocking; and averred that it was a great error to put much in the gazettes, because it 'overheats the people's brains,' and causes them to neglect their private business and to meddle in State affairs. That the Government was determined that the Act should be enforced both in the letter and the spirit is evident from the fact that Roger L'Estrange was appointed, under the title of 'Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses,' or of 'Overseer of the Press,' the chief officer for carrying its provisions into effect. Of that remarkable man something hereafter will be said, but for the present it must be enough to note the salient events in

[1] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.*

the history of journalism during the time when the press was under his control. In 1633 he began the publication of what were known as ' News Books ' : that is to say, of *The Intelligencer* and *The News*, which were described as being provided ' for the satisfaction and information of the people ' and ' with privilege.' In 1665 the *Oxford Gazette* appeared, and in the following year was succeeded by the *London Gazette*, which, under the management of Sir Joseph Williamson, became the established organ of the Government, and superseded L'Estrange's publications. It is of some interest to observe that Pepys mentions in his Diary that he bought ' the first newes-books of L'Estrange's writing,' because his mention of the fact is a clear indication that at this time the newspaper was still considered something of a novelty. The Diarist adds that L'Estrange made but ' a simple beginning.' [1]

Of all Tories outside the circle of the members of the Government and some great ecclesiastics, Roger L'Estrange was perhaps, from the Restoration to the Revolution, the most influential. Born in Norfolk in 1616, he took up the royal cause with ardour when he came to man's estate. He was with the army of Charles I. in Scotland, and in 1644 was condemned to death by Parliament for his alleged implication in a Royalist plot. Thrown into Newgate, he lingered there until 1648, when he escaped through the connivance of the governor. There was probably no fitter person in the kingdom to fill the post to which he was appointed in 1663. A devoted loyalist, he brought to the performance of his duties great industry and a strong but narrow mind. Steeped to the lips in party prejudices, there was no one of whom it could be more confidently said that he would carry out the press regulations with all the power at his command. He was an ideal press licenser for an aggressive Tory government. In his *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press*, which he brought out in 1633, he revealed the spirit in which he set to work. He advocated not merely a severe discipline for authors and printers, but also for ' the letter-founders and the smiths and joiners that work upon the premises,' and ' the stitchers, binders, stationers, hawkers, mercury-women, pedlars, ballad-singers, posts, carriers, hackney

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

coachmen, boatmen, and mariners.' He suggested that the number of master-printers in London be reduced from sixty to twenty, that printing offices be subject to inspection and have no back doors; and that in addition to the ordinary penalties for treasonable and seditious publications, culprits convicted of small infractions of the law be condemned 'to wear some visible badge or mark of ignominy, as a halter instead of a hatband, one stocking blue and another red, a blue bonnet with a red letter T or S upon it.' In the very first number of his *Intelligencer* he made what for an editor of a newspaper was an extraordinary avowal, that he believed that there should not be allowed any newspapers at all; because the reading of them 'makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and licence, to be meddling with the government.'[1] Nevertheless he somewhat reluctantly admitted that a well-managed journal might be of use by helping 'to redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and delusions, and to preserve them from the like for the time to come,' and by detecting and counteracting false reports against the government. From a press-licenser, who did not scruple to proclaim opinions such as these, there was evidently but little breadth of view or toleration to be expected. The expectation was not disappointed, for there was nothing too insignificant to escape the censor's eye. Any words that could be construed in a sense hostile to the Government he caused to be expunged; as for instance, some prophecies of the Great Fire, which were made in the almanacs for 1665. It is true, indeed, that he was charged with partiality in carrying out his duties, and that people said that it wanted but the smile of a printer's wife to procure the issuing of a licence; but it is probable that all this was based on no better foundation than the gossip of his enemies. As 'a public tooth-drawer,' to use Marvell's humorous phrase for a licenser of the press, he was relentless. He so effectually gagged the press that, to quote a contemporary writer, 'His Majesty said several times he wondered how it could be done.'

The powers conferred upon L'Estrange were such as rarely

[1] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 326.

fall to the lot of a single individual. Not only did he exercise control over every printing-press throughout the kingdom, but until the establishment of the *Gazette* he had the monopoly of journalism. But L'Estrange did not restrict his energies to the industrious performance of the duties of his office. He was a prolific pamphleteer, and as a translator he has made some enduring contributions to literature. His versions, for instance, of Æsop's *Fables* and the *Visions of Quevedo Villegas* are still reprinted. And as soon as he was able he plunged into journalistic enterprise again. He had a hand in the *Heraclitus Ridens*, a comic weekly paper, which appeared from 1681 to 1682, with the authority of the government. But his most notable achievement in this line was the *Observator*, which he began in 1681 and carried on until 1687, the whole being then reprinted under the title of *A Brief History of the Times*. It was written, he alleged, 'to encounter the faction and to vindicate the Government,' to 'detect the faction's forgeries,' to 'lay open the rankness of their calumnies and malice, to refute their seditious doctrines, to expose their hypocrisy and the bloody design that is carried on under the name and semblance of religion.' That he wrote to some purpose must certainly be allowed. When Roger North styled him 'the famous writer of pamphlets on the Court side' he did not under-state the position to which L'Estrange attained as a political controversialist. As a fighting Tory, who revelled in the joy of battle, he was incomparably the greatest of his time.

A perusal of L'Estrange's political compositions forms an illuminative study; for there is hardly anything else that so intimately reveals the spirit and intellectual texture of the Toryism of the Restoration period. His style, disfigured by coarseness, but vigorous and racy, was exactly fitted to express the sentiments of which it was the vehicle; and his thoughts were just those of the average members of his party. He merely said what other men were thinking, only he said it with a humour and an incisiveness of which they were incapable. He held, of course, the usual Tory views on Church and State, though he embellished his statement of them by occasional novelties of argument or phrase. He argued, for instance, that monarchy is specially suitable to Englishmen's character,

which, unlike the French, is not 'supple to oppression,' and, unlike the Dutch, is not 'addicted to traffic, navigation, handy-crafts and sordid thrift.' [1] Again, he put the case for the episcopal order upon broader grounds than those which were usually advanced. 'Prelacy,' he maintained, 'holds a better proportion in the scale of order, as a more regular subordination of duties and relations. Nature and Providence do not move by leaps, but by insensible and soft degrees, which give stability and beauty to the universe. . . . From God kings reign . . . all powers derive from a divine original. This orderly gradation, which we find in prelacy, must needs beget a reverence to authority; the hierarchy itself depending upon a principle of obedience.' [2] But it was when he came to speak of the Dissenters that L'Estrange was most thoroughly in his own natural element. When on this topic he seems to have habitually thought, or at all events written, in a passion. He constantly argued as though he thought the first Dissenter was the Devil. He averred that it was the design of the Presbyterians 'to enslave both King and people under the masque of religion,' and he took a positive delight in relating the distresses which the Dissenters underwent. There was no subject on which he expatiated with so much wit and zest as Nonconformist traits of character. The preface, for instance, to his tract on the *Dissenters' Sayings*, is a fair illustration of what L'Estrange could descend to in the way of coarse abuse. 'In this extract or collection,' he writes, 'the Reader may phansy himself to be gotten into the Phanaticks' tyring Room, where he sees all their dresses, and disguises, their shifts of masques and habits; their change of scenes; their artificial thunders and false fires; nay, the very buggs and devils, that they fight fools and children with, at a distance, to be no more, near hand, than paint and canvas.' [3] On Baxter he appears to have been unusually severe; and it is not wonderful that his innocent victim should have deeply resented his attacks. So many were 'the most notorious falsehoods' published that, exclaimed Baxter, 'I must confess it hath greatly depressed my esteem of most history and of human

[1] L'Estrange's *A Plea for a Limited Monarchy.*
[2] L'Estrange's *Interest Mistaken, or The Holy Cheat.*
[3] L'Estrange, *The Dissenters' Sayings.*

nature.'[1] There was no one perhaps who did so much to fan the flames of animosity between the Church and the Dissenters as L'Estrange. As Burnet said, his *Observator* was written in order 'to defame the contrary party, and to make the clergy apprehend that their ruin was designed.'[2] With them, indeed, his popularity was great; among the younger men especially he was frequently the centre of an admiring circle in coffee-house and tavern.

Though L'Estrange was led by prejudice into deplorable excesses, it would be a mistake to suppose that he was nothing but a bully who indulged himself in truculent abuse. It is only just to say that he showed both courage and independence. He never ceased to urge upon the King the duty of gratitude towards necessitous Cavaliers.[3] During the first Dutch war he did not hesitate to charge the Government with barbarous usage of prisoners of war. He differed from many of his party in opposing the exclusion of the Duke of York, and above all, he defended the Roman Catholics from the infamous charges brought against them at the time of the Popish plot. He was in consequence accused of being a Papist and of going secretly to mass. It is much to his credit that he so strenuously assisted to expose Titus Oates's fabrications. Even in the *Observator* he did not please every section of the Tories; for, as Evelyn observes, 'under pretence to serve the Church of England, he gave suspicion of gratifying another party.' It is noteworthy too that he had the spirit to oppose James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence. Of course, like all public men who take a strong line, he got his share of lampoon and caricature. He was nicknamed 'Oliver's Fiddler,' 'Old Noll's Fiddler,' 'Roger the Fiddler,' 'Fiddle-Stick,' 'Don Rugero de Strangemento,' 'Knight of the squeaking Fiddle-Stick,' and the 'Dog Towzer.' He was pictured as a dog with a broom tied to his neck and a fiddle to his tail, running away from a whip. He had the doubtful honour too of being burnt in effigy in company with Jeffreys by the London mob. When not under the spell of political or religious controversy, he was in many respects an estimable

[1] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, pp. 373, 635.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 215.
[3] L'Estrange's *A Caveat for Cavaliers*.

gentleman. To literary attainments, which were by no means contemptible, he added considerable skill as a musician. An 'expert violist,' he was called by Roger North, himself a judge well qualified to speak. In private life, by the universal testimony of those who knew him, he was an agreeable companion; 'a person of excellent parts abating some affections,'[1] says Evelyn; 'a man of good wit and a fancy very luxuriant and of an enterprising nature,' says Clarendon; 'a man of fine conversation,' and 'most courtly and full of compliments,' says Pepys. It is, however, amusing to discover that in his intercourse with Pepys he revealed something of the professional instinct of the journalist. For, says the Diarist, 'he would endeavour to get now and then some news of me which I shall, as I see cause, give him.'[2] That was no small compliment moreover which he received from the University of Cambridge—a presentation, that is to say, of two hundred pounds as a token of their gratitude for the services he had performed for King and Church.[3]

Of the remaining incidents of L'Estrange's life all that is necessary to add may be very briefly stated. In 1685 he was elected member of parliament for Winchester and knighted. At the Revolution by the turn of fortune's wheel he fell on evil days. Deprived of his post of licenser, he was several times imprisoned on suspicion of being involved in treasonable correspondence, and before his death in 1704 he was, to the discredit of his party, allowed to fall into actual want. That at any rate is the inference to be drawn from a letter which Pope wrote to Swift upon the subject. The Tories, he said, ought to subscribe for masses for L'Estrange's soul, 'to keep him from damning in the next life, considering that they never gave him sixpence to keep him from starving in this.'

The manner of the practical working of the press censorship may be gathered from the facts which actually occurred. No book, for example, could be published, that was thought upon any pretext, however flimsy, to contain doctrine inconsistent with the established order of affairs. It would be incredible, were it not true, that Milton's *Paradise Lost* ran some risk of

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.
[3] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. i. p. 93.

being suppressed. As a rule, the hand of the law fell heavily upon those obscure individuals who ventured to defy it without having any powerful patron to defend them. Informers were set busily to work, and within a very few years some unfortunate printers and publishers were brought to trial. One John Twyn was actually condemned to death and executed for merely printing a book which was alleged to be treasonable, that is to say, *A Treatise on the Execution of Justice*. So, too, Brewster, Dover, and Brooks were condemned for a misdemeanour in publishing the *Speeches and Prayers of Harrison the Regicide*; and Keach was condemned for his book, *The Child's Instructor*, in which he argued for the millennium and for the wrongfulness of infant baptism.[1] A notorious case was the trial of Benjamin Harris, the editor of a Whig journal. The sort of spirit that prevailed may be gathered from the charge of Chief Justice Scroggs, who told the jury that except the prisoner there could not be a worse man in the world, 'for he must be a rebellious and villainous traitor.' It should be noted, moreover, that the public were to a large extent cut off from any knowledge of what must have been to many the most interesting of all news—that is to say, the parliamentary proceedings. Of these the only information to be had were such garbled and imperfect versions of debates as were published by authority. Even as late as 1694 one Dyer was brought before the bar of the House of Commons and reprimanded for his 'great presumption' in taking notice of what had been done within its walls. It would seem that with respect to the publication of political news no statutory authority was required; for upon the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1679 Charles II. made use of his prerogative to issue a proclamation for suppressing the printing and publishing of 'unlicensed newsbooks and pamphlets of news.' Chief Justice Scroggs, in his charge to the jury at the trial of Henry Carr, laid down that the proclamation was 'a public notice to all people and especially printers and booksellers, that they ought to print no book or pamphlet of news whatsoever without authority.'[2] The constitutional character of this alleged prerogative, so far-reaching in its consequences, was

[1] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. pp. 508–512.
[2] C. Grant Robertson's *Select Statutes, etc.*

not allowed to pass unchallenged ; for Scroggs, who had advised its exercise, was upon this ground among others impeached by parliament. But whether by legislation or by means of the prerogative, the Tories were careful to take effective measures to prevent the expression of any opinions, or the dissemination of any news, which they judged to be detrimental to their cause.

It was just at this point in English history, when the towns were beginning to rise into importance, and people to congregate together in populous centres, that the demand for newspapers became an important factor in the political life of the nation. Where persons meet together, the love of talk and argument stimulates the appetite for news, and it is in this connexion that the rise of the coffee-house as a social institution becomes a matter of considerable interest. It was certainly an element in society to which the Tories could not afford to be indifferent, running counter, as it did, to some of their theories, and tending in fact to nullify their practice. The coffee-houses, indeed, came in for a large share of their attention, and it is, therefore, a subject to which in a history of Toryism some reference may be made.

It was in 1637 that Evelyn records that he first saw coffee drunk in England by one Nathaniel Conopios, a Greek ; ' which custom,' he says, ' came not into England till thirty years after. A coffee-house is, however, said to have been opened in London in 1652. It may be doubted whether the introduction of any other article of food or drink brought with it results of such political importance. The coffee-house from the very first became a very popular institution—so popular, indeed, as to attract the serious notice of the government. It quickly became a recognised centre for gossip and discussion, and especially for the reading of the newspapers which were regularly supplied there. It is very curious to observe how the journal and the coffee-house grew in popularity together, and how they were both alike denounced by those who feared political discussion by the people. It is true that some good Tories—Pepys and Dryden, for example—were frequenters of the coffee-houses ; but what they condemned in their opponents, they thought quite proper for such virtuous persons as themselves. The coffee-house,

in fact, was only thought of in the light of a political institution, and from this point of view the Tories were unanimous in condemning it. They hated being aroused from their calm dogmatic slumbers. A place where men could meet together and criticise the actions of the government was, in their opinion, obviously a danger and scarcely to be tolerated. It was a centre, too, for the dissemination of news, which was sometimes true, but probably just as often false. Samuel Butler, in his character of *An Intelligencer*, points out the uses of coffee-houses to the journalist. Such a person, he says, 'supplied those who finding themselves unsatisfied with the brevity of the *Gazette*, desire to have exceedings of news besides their ordinary commons. To furnish those, he frequents clubs and coffee-houses, the markets of news, where he engrosses all he can light upon.' And, if we may credit Butler, there was nothing in heaven and earth that was immune from the profane handling of the critics. Philosophy and science were dragged into the area of discussion, no less than the more commonplace affairs of society and politics. That they were frequented largely for the opportunities they afforded for the reading of newspapers there is plenty of evidence to show; and for that very reason they were regarded with suspicion by those old-fashioned Tories who thought that the people were better employed over their own private business than in reading and talking about affairs of public interest. Newspaper reading itself was classed by some persons almost in the category of the vices. Chief Justice Scroggs, for instance, at the celebrated trial of Henry Carr, averred that people would deny their children a penny for bread in order to buy a pamphlet, and that 'no man can keep two pence in his pocket because of the news.'[1] The coffee-house, too, came in for a good deal of hostile criticism; it was 'an exchange where the haberdashers of political small wares meet'; or a 'lay conventicle, good fellowship turned puritan'; or 'a cabal of killing critics that have only learned to spit and mew, a mint of intelligence that, to make each man his pennyworth draws out into petty parcels what the merchant receives in bullion.'[2] L'Estrange, as might have been expected, insisted

[1] Fox Bourne's *English Newspapers*, p. 49.

[2] *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi., 'The Character of a Coffee House.'

upon the evils that ensued from 'making the coffee-houses and all the popular clubs judges of those counsels and deliberations which they have nothing to do withal.' Nor is it wonderful that the coffee-houses were an innovation which at Oxford and Cambridge somewhat ruffled the placidity of the University authorities. At Oxford a coffee-house is said to have been opened as early as 1650, and at any rate by 1667 it was a firmly established institution in that city. It became a matter of complaint that serious study declined in the University, because men spent their time idling in the coffee-houses.[1] Nor was that all. One Robert Pauling, a Puritan mayor of Oxford, prohibited the sale of coffee on Sundays, and dissuaded his friends from sending their sons to the University, which he called a debauched place. At Cambridge the same complaint was made. Dr. John North, the Master of Trinity College, in comparing the present with the former state of things, remarked that in his early days at the University 'coffee was not of such common use as afterwards, and coffee-houses but young. . . . The trade of news also was scarce set up, for they had only the public gazette. . . . But now the case is much altered; for it is the custom after Chapel to repair to one or the other of the coffee-houses (for there are divers) where hours are spent in talking; and less profitable reading of the newspapers of which swarms are continually supplied.'[2]

That both newspapers and coffee-houses, more particularly the latter, were regarded with no favourable eye by those who were averse from innovation is very clear. From vague fulminations against coffee-houses to more definite charges of fomenting sedition was but a step. Pepys, for instance, as we have seen, noted 'how highly the Presbyters talk in the coffee-houses still.' Roger North declared that there was much 'licentiousness of treasonable talk,' and that atheism, blasphemy, and heresy were taught there; and he discovered new terrors in chocolate as well as coffee. The chocolate-houses were, he said, 'a new invention' for persons of quality, who were allured by the facilities for gambling as well as for obtaining of refreshments, 'as if the Devil had enacted a new university, and these were his colleges, and residences of his professors, as well as his

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. [2] North's *Life of Dr. John North.*

schools of discipline.'[1] Lord Guilford, when consulted about the expediency of closing coffee-houses by law, said that they were 'nurseries of idleness and pragmaticalness and hinder the consumption of our native provisions; they may be treated as common nuisances.'[2] One writer described them as 'nurseries of sedition and rebellion,' and, though advising their suppression, he had the justice to recommend that some compensation should be given to those who suffered by the loss of vested interests. In fact, what a speaker in the House of Commons termed 'coffee-house discourse'[3] very soon began to attract the attention of the government. When the King consulted Clarendon about the matter, two alternative proposals were put forward; either that they should be closed altogether or that spies should be placed in them to listen to what was said. The King was reported to be favourable to either plan; but, when Sir William Coventry pointed out that coffee was an important source of revenue, he felt disinclined to do anything that would tend seriously to restrict it. It was not until 1676 that action was taken by the government.

The Tories, in this regard, belonged to a bygone generation; they had no inkling of the fact that what Bagehot has well called 'The Age of Discussion'[4] had arrived; like the ancients, they placed idle talk in the category of offences only just behind rebellion.

In the year 1667 an important incident in the history of Toryism occurred; for it was in August in that year that Clarendon resigned the Great Seal into the hands of his royal master. The passing from his hands of the direction of affairs marked a change not only in the personality of the inner circle of the government but also in its temper and its spirit; while the circumstances which combined to bring about his fall throw a good deal of light upon the relations that existed between the King and his Minister, between that Minister and parliament, and upon his position as the leader of the Tories.

The tide of discontent against Clarendon's conduct of affairs had long been gradually swelling. The Cavaliers, forgetting that the Restoration was a compromise, were angry at the favour

[1] North's *Examen*. [2] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 457.
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vi. p. 62. [4] Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*.

he showed the Presbyterians, some of whom he placed in office. By a policy that redounded to his honour and sagacity he forfeited the confidence of many Cavaliers, 'who,' says Burnet, 'could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted.'[1] It was commonly said that he 'neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our trouble'; nay, more, that he professed to act upon the maxim that the King should buy and reward his enemies, and do little for his friends, because they were his already.[2] The charge, however ill-founded, went far to undermine the allegiance of his party. This perhaps would not have mattered much, if the King and Parliament had determined to support him; but he unfortunately affronted both. His long intimacy with the King led him to presume too much upon his great position of authority. Of Charles's ability he quite rightly formed a high opinion; 'he hath,' he said, 'more judgment and understanding, by many degrees, than many who pretend to it; and that is the only thing that breaks my heart, that he makes no more use of it.'[3] It was, therefore, perhaps excusable in Clarendon if he displayed some irritation over Charles's wasted opportunities. It was said that he told the King to his face that he was 'a lazy person and not fit to govern.' That, to say the least of it, was going rather far. Pepys says that after the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York he thought himself above all risk of being called to account, and it is quite possible that his relationship with the royal family lulled him into a false sense of security. It is clear, however, that the King became very much annoyed with Clarendon's demeanour. When he heard his courtiers saying that Clarendon carried the crown in his pocket, or ejaculating 'Here comes your master,' he resented the implied imputation on himself. At last he came to speak of him as 'the insolent man'; and after his dismissal he excused his action by protesting that Clarendon's behaviour and humour had become so insupportable that he could endure it no longer. And no

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xi., part vii.: Letter of the Earl of Winchester, p. 11.

[3] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

wonder, if, as Roger North says, the Chancellor had become 'not a little tutorly in His Majesty's affairs.' A courtier told him that, freed from Clarendon's control, he was King of England —a thing he had never been before; and there can be very little doubt that he openly rejoiced at his liberation from restraint. But this was not the sole cause of Clarendon's decline in royal favour. There was another reason more creditable to the Minister but less so to the King, and that was that Clarendon's grave morality was offensive to one of the most dissolute of courts. His very presence seemed to be a silent, but none the less telling censure, upon the flagrant misconduct that was going on about him. He was ill at ease in Vanity Fair. Mimicry of his dignified deportment was one of the amusements of the Court—a fact of which he was himself aware, for he said that 'skill in mimicry' was the best 'faculty in wit' that many of his enemies had. The Duke of Buckingham, who seemed to have added to his other versatilities the talent of an actor, would sometimes play the part of Clarendon in his capacity as Chancellor, preceded by Colonel Titus, who bore a fire shovel for the mace and a pair of bellows for the purse. The spectators were dissolved in laughter, but for Clarendon himself it was a very serious matter. It was a proof that he could not look to the Court to defend him against his enemies outside it. In the next place Clarendon offended not only the King but his own colleagues by his imperiousness of manner. In spite of his own spirited disclaimers, there can be very little doubt that he governed, as Burnet says, in 'too magisterial a way.' Sir William Coventry complained that he was 'so great at the Council-board' that no one else would propose anything unless he approved it. Of his friction with the House of Commons something has already been said, and there is no occasion to insist upon it here. Whether he really uttered the disparaging remarks which so provoked the lower House is perhaps not of much importance: suffice it to say that in his attitude to parliament he committed one of the worst errors of judgement in his life. While, on the one hand, he failed to appreciate the rising importance of the Commons, or to check what he considered their encroachments, he disappointed, on the other, the King in his promises that he would make him independent of parliamentary control. What Sir

William Coventry told Pepys, that members of Parliament had for a long time before Clarendon's removal been 'cloyed with his speeches and good words, and were come to hate him,' was doubtless true. And it is just here that from the constitutional point of view there lies the chief significance of Clarendon's fall from power. It was a great victory for the House of Commons, and marks a step forward in that process of obtaining the control of the executive by the legislative chambers, which, slowly developing, has perhaps by this time reached its limit. In dismissing his great Minister, Charles II. was in fact throwing a sop to the parliamentary wolves. But an encroachment on the executive by a House of Commons packed with Tories implied no abandonment of Tory principles; it meant only a redistribution of power among the various organs which claimed a share in its exercise.

Popularity has been defined as glory in copper coinage, and, if the metaphor be adopted, the career of Clarendon exemplifies how quickly the coins struck in that mint may be expended. For it is perhaps not too much to say that six years of office had made him the most unpopular man in England. This is an important fact to be remembered by those who charge the King with gross ingratitude towards his fallen Minister, and fail to appreciate how impossible it is for any ruler, however autocratic, to neglect or defy the feelings or opinions of his subjects. To Clarendon's unpopularity several causes contributed. He was unlucky; and a suffering people are only too apt to blame their governors for troubles of which they were in no wise the cause. The Dutch war, the Great Fire, and the Plague would have impaired the reputation of even a greater man than Clarendon. But the allegations which inflamed the popular hatred were based upon grounds of the flimsiest description. It was said that he had been bribed to sell Dunkirk to the French; that he had wasted public money at Tangier; that he had purposely married Charles to a barren Queen, in order that his son-in-law, the Duke of York, might succeed to the throne; and that he improperly had taken the stones of St. Paul's Cathedral to use in the building of his mansion. This splendid abode was thought to be visible proof of his unlawful and avaricious gains; and, as he himself admitted, 'it more contributed to that gust

of envy which had so violently shaken him,' than any other thing. There is, however, no evidence to show that Clarendon was guilty of corruption in his office, or that he received anything but his salary and the gifts that the King bestowed upon him; and we may well believe him when he says that he was 'too proud of a good conscience'; and that he had as much fear of being charged with guilty avarice as with witchcraft or burglary.[1] Whatever faults he had, want of integrity was certainly not one of them. Even Burnet admits that 'he was certainly a very incorrupt man.'

Yet though innocent of the more serious charges brought against him, Clarendon could not avert his fall. Intrigues at Court and parliamentary resentment combined to bring matters to a head. He had incurred the passionate hatred of one of the royal mistresses, Lady Castlemaine, and that was no trifling incident when the Sovereign was a man like Charles II. It is said that when Clarendon was leaving Whitehall, whither he had been to deliver up the seals of office, the offended mistress watched him from her aviary and stood 'blessing herself at the old man's going away.' Then some of the King's most influential favourites, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry and others, were resolved on his removal; or, as Pepys humorously expressed it, they 'cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back past ever getting up again.'[2] The two latter, in particular, worked together in the House of Commons to bring about the end in view; and Sir William told the King, if we are to believe Clarendon's own story, that he was a man 'odious to the Parliament, and so imperious that he would endure no contradiction.' But his mere retirement did not satisfy those—and they were many—who thirsted for revenge. The two Houses of Parliament voted an address of thanks to the King for Clarendon's removal, and his reply contained a promise never to employ the fallen Minister again. But even that was not enough; the Commons impeached him at the bar of the upper House on seventeen different counts, of which the most important were, that he had 'designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the Kingdom thereby'; and that he had 'gained to

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.

himself a far greater estate than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a time.' As to the second of these points, there is nothing more to add to what has been already said. The allegation about the standing army had no better foundation to support it than that he had consented to the raising of several regiments of guards. Yet the charge was commonly believed to be irrefragable.

In the House of Lords, among whom Clarendon could still number many friends, the debates on the impeachment were very warm, and the King, who felt doubtful of the issue, ordered him to retire to the Continent. He wrote a pitiful letter to the King, who contemptuously burned it in his candle. His petition to the Lords, which contained an elaborate vindication of his conduct, met with no better fate, and was condemned to the flames at the hands of the common hangman, and so, says Clarendon pathetically, 'the poor paper was accordingly with solemnity executed by the appointed officer.'[1] Finally an Act was passed that banished him for life, unless he returned to meet the charges before a certain date. Truly the clouds of adversity were rolling thick and fast upon him. Evelyn records how he visited him and found him in his garden, 'sitting in his great wheel chair, and seeing the gates setting up towards the north and the fields, and very sad.'[2] He had reason to be sad, for he was about to set out on a journey from which he was destined never to return.

The contemplation of Clarendon's career irresistibly attracts one to moralise upon such topics as the vanity of human wishes and the fickleness of fortune. Here was a man in whose hands it may be said that the flowers withered at the very moment that he plucked them, and who fell when he had reached the pinnacle of greatness. So near does the Capitol lie to the Tarpeian rock. He trod the same dizzy path of eminence which had proved so perilous to many Englishmen before him—a path that too often had ended in the Tower and on the block. It is true that this dire fate did not overtake him, but there must have been few cases where the fall of a man who had performed so many and great services to his country was so popular. As a contemporary writer says, it was well 'relished

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

among the generality.' It is an outstanding fact in Clarendon's public life that he fell before the blasts of private pique, of ignorance and prejudice. In estimating the value of a man's work and in weighing his achievements and his failures, it is necessary to consider the difficulties of the task he undertook to handle, and the way in which he met them. In Clarendon's case the difficulties at the outset seemed almost insurmountable. He had to induce parties, which seemed almost irreconcilable, to cry a truce and live in peace together; to keep in check the lust for vengeance for which the victors longed; to uphold the sanctity of private contracts in a time of social anarchy; to dispose of an army which was hated, but which it would have been dangerous to offend; and above all to deal with a House of Commons which was filled with Tories much more stubborn than himself. It is hardly too much to say that he had more to fear from his friends than his opponents. The more violent Cavaliers, if they could have had their way, would have made a settlement impossible and would even have had the King commit a breach of faith. But, as Clarendon insisted, 'it was the offer of the indemnity that brought in the King and it was the observing of it that must keep him in.'[1] They, not Clarendon, were responsible for a good deal of the most oppressive legislation. They laughed at the moderate Tories as 'Prudentialists,' and when Monk heard of their extravagant demands, he remarked with no less truth than wit that as there was a fanatic party on one side, so there was a frantic party on the other.[2] Clarendon may have been, as Roger North suggests, 'too much a scholar, and warping towards the pedantic, to be a good prime minister of State'; and he certainly wanted tact in his management of men. When the obstacles, however, which he had to contend with are considered, the more wonderful will his actual accomplishments appear. His very success aroused a host of bitter enemies. The Cavaliers hated him for disappointing their greedy expectations, the Roman Catholics for his Anglicanism, and the Dissenters for the same reason. The Court was offended by his gravity and the strictness of his morals, the nobles were envious of his connexion with the Duke of York, and the merchants of his wealth. Lastly he forfeited the support of the King by

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*. [2] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 504

his overbearing manners, and by thwarting the royal aspirations. But all these assaults might not have shaken his position had he not given grave offence to the self-esteem and dignified sensitiveness of the House of Commons. His disparaging remarks rankled in the minds of each individual member. They were acutely conscious of the fact that they made up the body which Clarendon openly slighted as 'useless and inconsiderable.'[1] His inability to perceive the growing importance of the popular Chamber was the cardinal error of his life and the paramount cause of his ruin. He had to learn that the wrath of parliaments might be as dreadful as the wrath of kings.

If Clarendon is not to be ranked as a great man, he at any rate fell very little short of that position. Among his contemporaries he was, so to speak, a solar body—a centre around whom the lesser men wheeled their planetary courses. His virtues—which were none of that fugitive and cloistered kind that Milton said he could not praise—vastly exceeded his defects. The best of those who knew him concur in their high estimation of his character. Southampton said of him, 'He is a true Protestant and an honest Englishman, and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties and religion.' Even Burnet acknowledged long afterwards at the trial of Sacheverell that it was to Clarendon we owed our being a free people; that he 'checked the forwardness of some who were desirous to load the Crown with prerogative and revenue'; and that if it had not been for his firmness, 'the liberties of the nation had been delivered up.'

That those who had suffered under his policy of repression should take a less favourable view and indulge in some rather bitter criticism was but to be expected. Baxter, for instance, in commenting on his fall, observes that 'it was a notable providence that this man, who had been the great instrument of State, and had dealt so cruelly with the Nonconformists, should thus by his own friends, be cast out and banished, while those that he had persecuted were the most moderate in his cause and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befell good people throughout the land by his dejection.' There can be no stronger proof of the extent of the antipathy for Clarendon than

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 382.

that even a conscientious man like Baxter repeated, and apparently believed, the stories which were circulated, but had little or no foundation. For, he goes on to say, it had been Clarendon's plan 'to decoy men into conspiracies, or to pretend plots, upon the rumour of which the innocent people of many counties were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe. Since then the laws have been made more and more severe, yet a man knoweth a little better what to expect, when it is by law that he is to be tried.' [1]

How great a loss the Tory party suffered by Clarendon's retirement became very soon apparent. Having dropped the pilot, Charles II. took very little pains to entrust the ship of State to hands competent to guide it among the rocks and shoals. He acted rather like a second Rehoboam, who dismissed his old and trusted counsellors and called in the young and inexperienced. If, indeed, the exiled statesman could have foreseen the impending future, he might indeed have felt some cause for sadness. It was no long time before the serious-minded Tories were looking back regretfully to the time when he had the conduct of affairs. Pepys at least relates how Evelyn expressed his fears of 'our ruin approaching, and all,' he adds, 'by the folly of the King.' [2] Freed from the restraints imposed by the Minister whom he voted 'a dull fellow,' Charles gave himself with all the *abandon* of his nature to a life of self-indulgence. 'The buffoones and the misses, to whom Clarendon was an eyesore,' rejoiced at his departure, but, says Evelyn, 'they afterwards came to nothing,' and were as 'little pittied.' And he testifies to the fact that 'things were infinitely worse managed,' since Clarendon's disgrace. In his time, he says, 'the offices of State and justice were filled with men of old English honour and probity; lesse open to bribery and ostentation; there was at least something of more gravity and forme kept up . . . more agreeable to the genius of this Nation than the open and avowed luxurie and prophaneness which succeeded *à la mode de France*.' [3]

About the time that Clarendon went into exile the Government was further weakened by the deaths of Southampton and Monk, who, next to Clarendon himself, were its most influential members. A reconstruction of the government had of necessity

[1] Orme's *Life and Times of Baxter*, p. 265. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.
[3] Evelyn's *Correspondence*, Letter to Pepys.

to follow, an event of no small importance in the history of Toryism and of the English constitution.

Part II

The period of about five years which followed the disappearance of Clarendon from affairs—a period that practically synchronises with that of the rule of the so-called 'Cabal'—is, as regards the subject-matter now in hand, of considerable interest for two especial reasons: first, on account of the light it throws upon the constitutional practice of the time; and, secondly, for its disclosures of fundamental differences of policy between two different sections of the Tories. The aims of Charles and his friends—the creation of a Roman Catholic England with the aid of French gold—differed greatly from those of the average Tory gentleman with his attachment to Anglicanism, his independent spirit, and his instinctive dislike of anything that savoured of foreign interference. It was now that the little rift appeared that, gradually widening, was destined to produce such momentous consequences. The term 'Cabal,' which was specially applied to the notorious administration now about to be formed, was, as is well known, not a new one; and it was the merest coincidence that the initial letters of the names of its leading members spelled the word. Nor had it the sinister significance which it afterwards acquired. It was occasionally used to denote some kind of political combination, as it was by Sir John Reresby, who, in speaking of the members of the Country party in 1679, said that 'these resorts were called Cabals'; or by Marvell, who spoke of 'Buckingham's Cabal' and 'Arlington's Cabal.'[1] To Clarendon it meant only a parliamentary group. But it was usually employed as synonymous with the terms 'Cabinet' or 'Cabinet Council.' The thing itself, on account of its supposed secret character, was in its origin unpopular—a prejudice that even Bacon shared. 'The doctrine of Italy and practice of France hath,' he writes, 'introduced Cabinet Council, a remedy worse than the disease.'[2] The Cabinet Council, as a regular government institution, was at least as old as the reign of Charles I.; for Clarendon, in telling of the Committee of State of which Laud and Strafford

[1] *Memoirs of Sir J. Reresby*, p. 99. [2] Bacon's *Essay on Counsell.*

were the chiefs, says that it was 'reproachfully after called the juncto, and enviously then in the Court the Cabinet Council.'[1] But, however that may be, there can be no doubt that Charles II.—perhaps with no well-defined intention—began a practice that brought about more permanent results than he could have imagined. How much of the idea was due to the King's initiative, and how much to the suggestion of Clarendon, it is impossible to say, but the discovery was quickly made that the Privy Council was far too large a body to deliberate on State affairs with the necessary dispatch and proper secrecy. At the Restoration it was composed of only thirty members, and even they, a small body, if compared with the Privy Council of to-day, were found too many. In theory the Sovereign was supposed to call them all in for consultation, and no one placed a higher value on the Privy Council than Clarendon himself. It is, he wrote, 'the most sacred and hath the greatest authority in the government of the State, next the person of the King himself, to whom all other powers are equally subject, and no King of England can so well secure his own just prerogative or preserve it from violation as by a strict defending and supporting the dignity of the Privy Council.' And again he declared that the monarchy could only be preserved by 'cherishing and preserving the wisdom, integrity, dignity and reputation of that Council.' He even blamed Charles II. for not esteeming it as he ought, 'as if it shadowed the King too much, and usurped too much of his authority and too often usurped his own commands.' The King did not, he said, regard it as 'a vital part of the Government,' owing to the influence of the 'ill principles he had received in France.' It is probable, indeed, that Charles would have liked to rule without consulting anybody, and the institution of the Privy Council—which was, in effect, a confidential inner ring—was perhaps something in the nature of a compromise. Clarendon had, at any rate, much to do with its creation. It consisted at first of Southampton, Ormonde, Monk, and the two Secretaries of State besides himself, the King being always present; and it met every Monday and Thursday in

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*; cp. *The English Historical Dictionary*, Article on 'Cabinet.' The term 'Cabinet Council,' in the sense of the modern Cabinet seems to have been used at the accession of Charles I.

Clarendon's chambers. He himself spoke of it as 'that secret Committee,' which, 'under the notion of foreign affairs, were originally appointed by the King to consult all his affairs before they came to a public debate.'[1] It seems to have been also sometimes called the 'Committee of Intelligence.' The account of its origin that is given by Roger North is both accurate and clear. It 'consisted,' he said, 'of those few great officers and courtiers whom the King relied upon for the interior dispatch of his affairs . . . this Council was derived from the Privy Council, which originally was the same thing, and derived out of the *magnum concilium*. . . . Thus the Cabinet Council, which at first was but in the nature of a private conversation, came to be a formal council, and had the direction of most transactions of the Government foreign and domestic.'[2] It was to all intents and purposes a Committee of the Privy Council. Complaints were sometimes made that the value of the Privy Council was impaired, and that its authority was slighted; as a speaker in the House of Commons said in 1678, 'a Cabinet Council that takes things out of the hands of the Privy Council is the complaint.'[3] There was, moreover, reason to suspect that Charles did not always consult even the Cabinet as he ought; for in an address, which the House of Commons presented to the King in 1678, they complained that they had been misrepresented to him 'by some particular persons, in a clandestine way, without the participation and advice (as we conceive) of the Council Board.'[4]

The 'Cabal' did not vary greatly in its general composition from the Cabinet of which Clarendon had been the chief. Both were coalitions. But in the case of the 'Cabal' the party divisions of its members were much more strongly marked. Its political colour can be best described as motley. In this, however, there was nothing remarkable, nor in any way inconsistent with the constitutional custom of the time. On the contrary, the Sovereign was expected to consult and place in office men of

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*; *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v., 'The Petition of Clarendon to the House of Lords'; cp. Article in the *English Historical Review*, January 1904, on Clarendon, by C. H. Firth.

[2] North's *Life of Lord Guilford*. [3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. v., p. 368.

[4] Vol. vi. p. 313. For the later history of the Cabinet see Low's *The Governance of England*, and article in the *Cornhill*, January 1904, on No. 10 Downing Street.

diversified opinions, and, having heard the opposing arguments, to form and act upon his own conclusions. It is a fascinating theory, but one hardly workable except in a Utopia. It certainly had not the faintest chance of succeeding in the reign of Charles II., who, in the composition of the 'Cabal,' probably had the ulterior design of playing off its various members one against the other. For a more ill-assorted group rarely gathered round a council board. To what extent they really wielded power it it not very easy to conjecture, because the Cabinet at this time was a rather fluid body. It was not indispensable that its members should all be ministers of State, for sometimes Charles summoned to his first Cabinet other influential personages, such as the Duke of York and Bishop Sheldon. Nor were all the great Ministers summoned to the meetings, for Sir Orlando Bridgman, who succeeded Clarendon as Chancellor, held office during a portion of the time of the Government of the 'Cabal,' though he was not a member of it.[1]

Such, very briefly, was the nature of the 'Cabal' in its constitutional relations. From the point of view of Tory history it has a more particular interest. The advent to power of such active members of the opposition as Buckingham and Ashley, the future Earl of Shaftesbury, would at first sight seem to indicate some waning of the Tory domination. And certainly the character of some of their attempted measures gives a certain amount of reason for that view. Yet for all that, though the tide of reaction was already well in motion, the Cavalier Parliament presented a stubborn mass of Toryism against which nothing could prevail. Whatever the 'Cabal' may have desired to do, they could never disregard the House of Commons as a negligible quantity.

Of the personalities which formed this famous combination there were only three who were in any sense Tory: namely, Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Sir Thomas Clifford, and John Maitland, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Lauderdale. They were,

[1] The loose employment of the term 'Cabal' has given rise to some confusion. In the reign of Charles II. it usually meant the five Ministers who signed the Treaty with France in 1672. There were really two Cabals, one consisting of Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashley, and their party, and another of Arlington, Clifford, and their party, but the two were sometimes blended.

too, Tories only in the sense that they were strong supporters of the monarchy and abhorrers of dissent. They, in fact, claimed for the Sovereign an extension of the prerogatives which even most of the Tories themselves would have been unwilling to allow. Yet, as seeking to establish the government in an impregnable position of consolidated strength in order to resist the disintegrating forces, they must be classed among the Tories. Let us look more closely into the characteristics of the triumvirate to which we have referred.

Arlington was a son of Sir John Bennet, and was educated at Westminster and Oxford. When the Civil War broke out, he went into the field upon the Royalist side, and it was thus he was said to have received that scar upon his nose which caused him ever afterwards to wear a patch.[1] His enemies asserted that the wound was of a less honourable kind, and that Arlington's claim was a pretence. However that may be, he quickly won the confidence of the exiled royal family. In 1654 he was chosen to be the Secretary to the Duke of York, and in 1658 was sent by Charles on a diplomatic errand to Madrid.

> Long with the royal wanderer he roved,
> And firm in all the turns of fortune proved.

On the Restoration he became Keeper of the Privy Purse, and in 1662 he succeeded the aged Nicholas as Secretary of State. The next year a seat was found for him in Parliament, where he made himself the centre of the intrigues which the enemies of Clarendon were weaving for his overthrow. When that event occurred, Arlington, who by this time was a peer, became perhaps the most considerable person in the State, and at all events the one most deeply in the confidence of the King. Of all the members of the 'Cabal' he was perhaps the most responsible for their policy and conduct.

The character of Arlington was certainly prosaic; but it was precisely to his possession of talents of a commonplace but useful order that he owed his rapid rise. He was industrious and, what was still better, he could keep a secret. Then his residence abroad, where he had acquired no small knowledge of affairs, and his facility in languages made him peculiarly well

[1] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 13.

fitted for conducting the business of the Foreign Office. 'He had,' says Evelyn, 'travelled much, and is the best-bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him, so as the public Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the nobility.'[1] There can be no question, indeed, of Arlington's capacity for the role he was called upon to fill. Add to this that he had won the King's confidence in an extraordinary degree. He had, says Burnet, the art of managing the temper of the King beyond all other persons.[2] It is scarcely to be credited that it was simply on account of what Clarendon calls 'his pleasant and agreeable humour' that he became so acceptable at Court. For Charles was a shrewd judge of character, and would not have placed a man in an office of high responsibility merely because he happened to amuse him. He must have perceived that Arlington could, within certain limits, be made a very useful personage; the more so, because, if not openly a convert to the Roman Catholic Church, he was, at all events, what may be styled a crypto-papist. Whatever were the actual facts, Arlington's conversion was talked of in society as a thing that had actually occurred. Pepys, for instance, heard of it, and he remarks how all the 'Court almost is changed to the worse since his coming in.'[3] But, be that as it may, it was in Arlington that Charles found a minister who was ready to assist him in his secret and long-cherished policy of bringing the English people back to the old faith of their forefathers. It was in Arlington that he hoped to find a tool to accomplish this end, and he was not disappointed.

As an industrious public servant and a trustworthy confidant of royal secrets Arlington had certainly his merits, but he had not many more. He was, indeed, incorrupt, according to the standards of his age. He allowed his wife to accept ten thousand crowns from Louis XIV. on the completion of the Treaty of Dover, but his enemies could say no more than that the deficiency of his integrity was forgiven on account of the decency of his dishonesty. Building at Euston was his one expensive folly. He was not generally thought a pleasant man. Sir William Temple, indeed, remarked that he had 'the greatest skill of

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 182.
[3] Pepys's *Diary*.

court, and the best turns of wit in particular conversation' that he had known there.[1] But if so, Arlington must have reserved his sunny side for a select circle of his friends. To the world at large he seemed haughty, pedantic and reserved. People said that his grave looks were a pretence, and, truth to tell, they were often in the right. For there was a good deal of art in Arlington's demeanour; he never blabbed and he always kept his countenance. Those who envied his promotion declared that he was little better than a fool, whose timidity passed for moderation, and whose provoking airs of secrecy masked his impenetrable dulness. But they were wrong. For, though not a brilliant man, Arlington had by his assiduous application acquired a knowledge and experience of affairs which are more practically useful than the misdirected efforts of men of finer parts. He, however, had his limitations. Clarendon had no reason to speak in favourable terms of one who had shown himself so conspicuously his foe. But what he says of Arlington has all the air of probability. He had not, he says, 'the gift of speaking,' nor a 'quick conception,' and so he 'rarely contradicted anything in council, his talent was in private, where he frequently procured, very inconveniently, changes and alterations from public determinations.'[2] It was, perhaps, an exaggeration to assert that he knew no more of the constitution and the laws of England than he did of China; but unquestionably Clarendon puts his finger here upon the weak spot in the character of Arlington. His knowledge of foreign politics was only equalled by his ignorance of the temper and disposition of his countrymen. A very moderate acquaintance with them must have shown him that the policy which culminated in the Treaty of Dover would be resented as an outrage upon the national conscience. The King, when he refused to make him Lord High Treasurer, very likely exercised a wise discretion.

Such was Arlington, the chief of the 'Cabal.' Its domestic history and its most intimate secrets have never been revealed, but something may be gathered from that chief's relations to his colleagues. Time brings its revenges, and Arlington, who had

[1] Courtenay's *Memoirs of Sir W. Temple*, vol. ii. p. 27.
[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

doubtless laughed at the mimicry of Clarendon, in his turn became the victim. In a letter from Montagu, the British Ambassador in Paris, he one day learned the news that 'it is a custom in England that when the King is angry with anybody, that he makes them to be acted, and that my Lord Buckingham and Bab May had acted you to the King and endeavoured to turn you *en ridicule*.' It was the fact that the Duke and other courtiers, with patches on their noses and staffs in their hands, had strutted about with an air of gravity and a solemn gait in imitation of the all-unwitting Secretary.[1] That Buckingham, one of his own colleagues in the Government, should have played the leading part in such light-hearted revels, proves that the 'Cabal' was in no serious sense a Cabinet at all.

Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Clifford, was a much more romantic figure. If Arlington was cool and calculating, Clifford was impetuous and hot. Belonging to an old Devonshire family, he was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and was elected member for Totnes in the Convention and the Pensioner Parliaments. In the Dutch War of 1665 he joined the fleet off Harwich as a volunteer, and fought with conspicuous bravery in one of the bloodiest of naval battles. In observing that he was a very 'fine gentleman' and one who was valued for 'his activity in going to sea, and stoutness everywhere,' Pepys did not say too much.[2] But the vehemence of his passions were not balanced by much sobriety of judgment. Evelyn has well summed him up as 'a valiant uncorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous, generous, passionate, a most sincere friend.'[3] He was, in short, a man in many respects of noble disposition and of great personal fascination. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that so fair a promise should have been marred by impossible ambitions and grave defects of temper. He was generally regarded as 'daring and ambitious,' as 'haughty and aspiring.'[4] His political principles were simplicity itself. Himself a Roman Catholic, either actual or concealed, there

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Papers of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. i. p. 452; North's *Examen*.

[2] Pepys's *Diary*.

[3] Evelyn's *Diary*.

[4] *Letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country*, and *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 12.

was nothing he more ardently desired than to see the ancient faith once more dominant in England. When his horoscope foretold him that he would reach early the summit of ambition, and after a brief period of enjoyment, perish by a bloody death, he replied that he would not fear to die, if only he was first allowed to see the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church. That was the first principle upon which he took his stand. His second was the absolutism of the Crown. He frankly told Charles II., when the Treaty of Dover was about to be completed, that 'it was better to pay independence to a great and generous King than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.' It is little wonder that Charles found in Clifford a minister exactly suited to his hand.

Lauderdale is the third and last member of the 'Cabal' who may be classed among the Tories. In many respects, indeed, he can scarcely be regarded as an English politician, for first as Secretary, and then as High Commissioner for Scotland, he was to all intents and purposes a kind of Scottish Viceroy. Yet his intimacy with Charles, and his readiness to be his pliant tool in his absolutist schemes, kept him within the Tory ranks. He was not an ally of whom the party had much reason to be proud. He had, indeed, considerable learning, and could work hard when he had a mind to do so. But this is about all that can be put down to his credit. To personal disadvantages—a 'Saracen fiery face,' a tongue too large to fit his mouth, and a disagreeable accent—he added personal traits of character of a most offensive kind. He was lewd, coarse and brutal. His attempts at wit were clumsy, for he either uttered bad jests or spoiled a good one in the telling. He was avaricious, and lied without a blush. He spoke contemptuously of what he called 'damned insipid lies.'[1] Utterly unscrupulous in his methods, he used his agents or discarded them according to his policy or pleasure. He knew, as he said, 'how to make use of a knave as well as another,' and he was not particular in the objects of his choice. His political principles, if they can be called principles at all, consisted in humouring the King, in doing what he wanted, and in relieving him of trouble. If he had any theories, they were those of a thorough-going absolutist,

[1] Airy's *Charles II.*, p. 288.

and he was in fact accused by parliament of saying that the King's edicts were equal to the laws. It is here, perhaps, that the reason may be found why Charles suffered one who was so exceedingly repellent. It is said, indeed, that the King grew tired of him at last, and that Lauderdale owed his position to the fact that 'the King would not have laws prescribed to him by the House of Commons.' [1] From an interfering Parliament—even when compact of Cavaliers—it was his constant aim to be delivered, and anyone who helped to free him was certain of his favour. Lauderdale saw his opportunity and was quick to turn it to account.

Of all the amazing incidents in a reign which was rich in political extravaganza, the 'Cabal' is the one perhaps that excites the most astonishment. It is hardly too much to say that it constituted one of the most colossal deceptions upon record. Of any collective action or responsibility there was practically none, and its members were busy duping others when they were not being duped themselves. It was in quite a nominal sense that it formed a government at all; for of some of the most important acts of the executive, there were usually some of the ministers who were kept in total ignorance. It was in accordance with precedent that members of the same Cabinet should be in open or secret opposition to one another; it was something new and portentous that they should take elaborate pains to conceal from one another what was actually being done in the region of high policy of State.

From the particular Tory point of view, perhaps the most important incidents were those that related to the Church and nonconformity. At first sight it would appear as though the harsher side of Toryism was about to show some signs of softening; and, indeed, it is not to be doubted that the loftier minds among the Churchmen were gradually inclining towards a more charitable mood. It was in 1668 that the first step in this direction was openly made. Then it was that so strong a Tory as Sir Orlando Bridgman, at the moment Lord Keeper, suggested a conference to Baxter with a view to a scheme of comprehension. Sir Matthew Hale, then Lord Chief Baron, and some of the most eminent of the Latitudinarian clergy,

[1] *The Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. pp. 14–15.

such as Tillotson and Bishop Wilkins, took up the matter with single-minded zeal. Hopes ran high, for it was fondly imagined that the King himself was really anxious to ameliorate the lot of his nonconformist subjects. He seemed, says Burnet, 'now to go into moderation and comprehension with so much heartiness, that both Bridgman and Wilkins believed that he was in earnest in it.'[1] It is quite possible that Charles was as much in earnest as was supposed; but if he was, it was from a very different motive than that of easing the hard conditions of dissent. Tillotson, with much wisdom, urged upon the King the desirability of asking Convocation to frame a scheme that the Dissenters would be likely to accept, in order that the Roman Catholics might have less excuse for saying, as they very often did, that the doctrine of the Church of England was a parliamentary faith. In a sermon preached some ten years later he declared that he had no cause to doubt that the Church would be content 'not to insist upon little things, but yield them up, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or perhaps in some very few things to the plausible exceptions of those who differed from them'; [2] and there is no reason to suppose that he would not have said the same thing in 1668. It is to be feared, however, that the great majority of Churchmen would have repudiated with some warmth of indignation so liberal a view. Their representatives in Parliament at any rate made short work of the idea of comprehension. Even Sir Orlando Bridgman seems to have repented of his zeal, and affected indifference in the matter, And though the King in his speech at the opening of parliament recommended the subject for their consideration, a motion that his Majesty should send for such persons as he should think fit to make proposals to him was overwhelmingly rejected. The House of Commons was at any rate inexorably Tory; so much so, indeed, that in 1670 it re-enacted the Conventicle Act in a more permanent form, the preamble containing the time-honoured allegations against 'the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences have or may at their

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 476–478.

[2] Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 97–98; Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Third Collection), 'Proposals tendered to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.'

meetings contrive insurrections.' After praying on Sundays against 'all false doctrine, heresy and schism,' the Tory members of the Commons spent their time in precipitating by their measures the very schism from which they prayed to be delivered. The gaping wounds, which a scheme of comprehension might have healed, were further torn asunder; and the fire of persecution waxed hotter than before. Archbishop Sheldon, who had been at the pains to collect statistical information about the strength of the Dissenters, induced Charles to issue a further proclamation directing the enforcement of the law. It was this moment which Parker, who was now Sheldon's chaplain, thought an appropriate one for the publication of his *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie*, wherein, to his perfect satisfaction, he represented the 'mischiefs and inconveniences of toleration,' and refuted 'all pretences pleaded in behalf of liberty of conscience.' As an attack on nonconformity this work has rarely, if ever, been excelled in savagery of wit or truculence of style. He affirmed that liberty of conscience was utterly inconsistent with the fundamental laws of government; that of all villains the well-meaning zealot is the most dangerous; that the Dissenters clothed themselves in wilfulness—an enchanted armour that was proof against assault; and that it was better to submit to the cruelties of a Nero or Caligula than to risk the dissolution of the State. The tone of the book was in harmony with the sentiments of the hour. The new Statute itself provided for a liberal construction to the disadvantage of dissent. It was, so the words ran, to be 'construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof.'[1] The House of Lords wished to add a clause reserving the King's prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs. But this was a prerogative which the Lower House was very chary of conceding, and the amending clause—which Marvell called 'a piece of absolute universal tyranny'—was only passed in an emasculated form. The sport of harrying Dissenters was indulged in with more than ordinary zest, and to such a pitch was persecution carried that, according to Burnet, the idea of a flight to Holland was seriously entertained by many men engaged in trade.

[1] C. Grant Robertson's *Select Statutes, etc.*

No more eloquent comment upon the character and constitution of the 'Cabal' can be imagined than the treatment which, during its existence, was meted out to the Dissenters. It might have been supposed that the influence of two such men as Buckingham and Shaftesbury would have been of some avail in promoting a more conciliatory policy. Buckingham, indeed, had no religious convictions whatsoever, and from motives of self-interest he was personally inclined to liberalism. This singular personality, for all his private vices, was capable of forming some spacious conceptions and of taking philosophic views. He argued that persecution was 'positively against the express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ,' and inexcusable in Protestants who maintain 'that none of those opinions which Christians differ about are infallible.' In a short *Discourse*, which he published in 1685, upon the unreasonableness of religion, he asserted 'that nothing can be more anti-Christian, nor more contrary to sense and reason, than to trouble and molest our fellow-Christians, because they cannot be exactly of our minds in all things relating to the worship of God.'[1] Even Baxter, who knew well enough that the Duke was a byword for licentiousness, was constrained to admit that he had 'greater wits and parts and sounder principles as to the interest of humanity and common good than most Lords in the Court.' And it is, indeed, the fact that he exerted himself to promote a scheme of comprehension and the non-renewal of the Act against conventicles. But the mere fact that Buckingham was to be found working on behalf of the Dissenters was turned into a pretext for making no concessions. It was rumoured that he himself conducted a conventicle at Wallingford House, where he celebrated 'a day of humiliation and seeking of God'; and suspicions were aroused that 'heading the fanatics and guided by their counsels he designed to arrive to be another Oliver.'[2] If the Dissenters had something to hope for from the presence of Buckingham in the council chamber of the nation, much more had they good reason for supposing that they had a friend in Shaftesbury. For in spite of apparent inconsistencies he was known to be a liberal-minded man. At the moment the

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Second Collection), 'A Short Discourse, etc.'

[2] Lady Burghclere's *Life of the Duke of Buckingham*, p. 199.

prospects of relief were very bright. Both Arlington and Clifford, for ulterior reasons of their own, and in order to compass the designs which the King had secretly at heart, desired to win over the Nonconformists to their side. Yet against the opposition of the Commons, the united efforts of the King and of the majority, at any rate, of the 'Cabal,' were powerless to prevail. That is a clearly-cut and upstanding fact in the history of the time and an irrefragable proof of the stubborn and unrelenting Toryism of the Cavalier Parliament.

Two years later—in 1672—a bolder step was taken. Charles grasped courage in both hands and published his Declaration of Indulgence. Audaciously asserting 'the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is inherent in us,' he proclaimed the suspension of 'all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists and Recusants.' His ostensible objects were laudable enough, and it seemed ungrateful to pick holes in a proposal that was framed 'as well for the quieting of our good subjects as for inviting strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us, and for a better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings.' The Dissenters especially had apparent reason to be thankful; for whereas they were to acquire the right of public worship, in the case of the Papists the private exercise of religion only was conceded. The consequences of the Declaration were surprising. The Dissenters were not to be cajoled into assenting to a trick, and for once both they and the Tories were united in resisting a despotic use of the prerogative. The Lord Keeper himself, Sir Orlando Bridgman, refused to put the Great Seal to the Declaration, and he was removed to find room for Shaftesbury, who was not yet alive to the covert machinations of the King. But the Tory gentlemen of England were the staunch friends of civil freedom, and loathed the idea of autocracy with as much fervour as any republican in the country. They liked to see England strongly ruled, but in that rule they were resolved to have a share. For about twelve months the Declaration was actually in force, and the prison doors were opened to many a sufferer—Bunyan among the number. But the Dissenters would not purchase relief for themselves at the price of conniving at what they conceived to be a grave abuse

of the prerogative. And Charles himself soon discovered that his design was one in which it was useless for him to attempt to persevere. After telling the House of Commons that he was resolved to stick to his Declaration he withdrew it in a month.[1] For by this time the House had passed a resolution that penal statutes in ecclesiastical matters could be suspended only by Act of Parliament. and he saw that it was hopeless to persist.[2] So ended for the present the attempts at toleration. But though they came to nought, a blow was struck for civil liberty when the Declaration was withdrawn; and here, at least, the Tories can claim to share a portion of the credit.

The 'Cabal' could do nothing to obtain religious liberty either for the Roman Catholics or Dissenters; but in the region of finance—where it was possible to perform an arbitrary act without parliamentary interference—they achieved an unenviable success. It was in 1671 that Clifford, who was rewarded with a peerage and the post of Lord Treasurer, carried through that financial *coup d'état* which is known to history as the 'Stop of the Exchequer.' This notorious affair, which has not always been clearly understood, is of some interest for its bearing on constitutional history, and is not without significance from the party point of view.

That trouble was impending became clear in the autumn of 1670, when Charles tried to borrow a sum of sixty thousand pounds in the City. Of this amount, says Marvell, he got ten thousand pounds from the Tories, and forty thousand from the opposition. In less than a year the crash came. A sum of one million four hundred thousand pounds was due for immediate repayment to the bankers, from whom the money had been borrowed, but instead of the money being forthcoming, a proclamation was issued suspending the payment and promising interest at the rate of six per cent. But not even that interest was paid for many years. There was no actual seizure of cash involved, but there was an act of default that was equivalent to national bankruptcy. The results were to the last degree disastrous. The stoppage, says Evelyn, 'not only lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widows and orphans

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 583.
[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. ii. p. 26.

whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever.' [1]

For this heartless act of cruelty Parliament was nearly, if not quite, as much to blame as Charles. The national credit was pledged for the repayment of the loans, yet no effort was made to repair the wrong that the Proclamation had inflicted. It may be that there still lingered traces of the old prejudice, which had long existed against those who laid their money out at interest—a prejudice that showed itself sometimes in unexpected ways. When, for instance, the Speaker in 1660 presented to the King a Bill for restricting the rate of interest, he observed that the traders were 'the laborious bees that bring in honey into your Majesty's hive, and usurers are the lazy idle drones, that rob your hive of the honey.' [2] The fate of the bankers who were guilty of the crime of lending money did not, perhaps, excite a great amount of sympathy. It is, however, to be feared that the occasion gave some scope for the play of party animosity, the traders in the City of London, who formed the wealthiest part of the community, being for the most part Dissenters and in opposition to the Government. It is more than probable that the Tories were nothing loath to deal their opponents a shrewd blow.

The most famous exploit of the 'Cabal' was in the sphere of foreign policy. It has not often happened that the domestic politics of England have been so closely intertwined with foreign influences as they were at the time at which we have arrived. The foreign policy of Charles II. had one great design in view—to bring back the English people to the Roman Catholic faith by the help of a secret alliance with Louis XIV. It was an audacious undertaking, and the abortive attempts to drive it through profoundly influenced the current of affairs. It was the rock upon which Toryism ultimately split.

It was in 1668 that Sir William Temple negotiated at the Hague the so-called Triple Alliance with Sweden and the Netherlands. The Treaty, which, Burnet says, was 'certainly the masterpiece of King Charles's life,' was so in a very different sense from that which Burnet intended. It was a dexterous

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 113.

device for cloaking his designs. The ink was scarcely dry before negotiations were in progress for an alliance with France in direct contradiction with the Treaty. Into the details of this amazing diplomacy, which culminated in 1670 in the so-called Treaty of Dover, it would be irrelevant to enter. What concerns us here is to observe that only two members of the 'Cabal' —Arlington and Clifford—were admitted to the secret, and that the others were fooled to the top of their bent by a pretended treaty of a more innocuous kind.

The actual executive was not in the hands of any regularly constituted Cabinet, but in those of Charles himself and of two ministers of Popish proclivities. They were Tories, it is true, but their tortuous intrigues, if they had been to their full extent revealed, would have been reprobated by the great majority of Tory gentlemen with rage and indignation. Charles and his intimate advisers had embarked upon a policy that can only be described as anti-national. The smouldering fires of bigotry, of hatred and suspicion were rekindled and burst into flames anew.

Ever since the Reformation there had continued to dwell in England a religious sect, small in number and ever dwindling, who remained steadfast to the faith which their forefathers had professed. These were the King's Roman Catholic subjects, men whom no arguments of reason could convert, no enticements of expediency allure, and no sufferings turn aside from the paths beaten out by the steps of countless generations. Pathetic figures, they, for the most part, lived aloof from the turbid stream of life, content to practise privately their own religious cult, and even clinging to the hope that God in His own good time would extirpate heresy and make the truth prevail. This body, important in a degree disproportionate to its numbers, threw the weight of its influence upon the Tory side. The King was under great obligations to them. During the Civil War they had fought with conspicuous bravery for the royal cause; for out of the five hundred gentlemen who laid down their lives upon the field of battle, no less than two-thirds are said to have been Catholics. They had assisted Charles II. personally in his hours of darkest peril at extreme danger to themselves. To his father they had advanced considerable

sums of money, and so highly did he value their fidelity that he directed the Duke of Newcastle to enrol them in his army at the risk of causing some offence to his Protestant supporters. It is to the credit of the younger Charles that he always gratefully remembered the services they had performed. At the very moment of his restoration one of the first things he did was to inform the House of Commons of the civilities and obligations which he had received from the Papists. The Duke of York was no less conscious than his brother of the debt of gratitude he owed to the Roman Catholics who had 'faithfully served our family.' Even the strong Anglicans could not deny the facts. It could never be gainsaid, wrote Clarendon, that 'some of that faith had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation'; [1] and Roger North excused Charles's popish inclinations, because 'he had been driven to seek his bread' among the Papists.[2] They, on their side, had reasons enough for adhering to the King and for giving their support on the most important questions, though, perhaps, not always very heartily, to the Tories. Of their reasons some were sentimental and some were prosaically commonplace and practical. They liked the King for his sympathy for Catholicism, and on account of the religion of his Queen. Then they feared that if the Puritans rose to power, there would be a recrudescence of the penal laws; and they saw that there was much advantage to be drawn from the enhancement of the royal prerogative, which could be used for their own profit and protection. The Churchmen, too, were more inclined than the Dissenters to view in a tolerant spirit the theology of Rome, and to make less use of the *argumentum ab inferno*. In an age when the doctrinal aspects of Christianity had to a large extent obscured the practical there was little love lost between the Papist and the Puritan.

Such, very briefly, was the position, and such were the views of the great majority of the English Roman Catholics at the point in history at which we have arrived. They pursued their business along sequestered paths, taking little or no part in the political controversies of the day, and bearing the good and evil turns of fortune with an even pulse. But there was a small minority, a minute fraction, who were not content to live so, but

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. [2] North's *Examen*.

by their pertinacious intrigues succeeded in raising a storm that ultimately involved themselves and all their fellow-Catholic subjects in an equal ruin. These were the Jesuits and some of the Roman Catholic clergy, who were imbued with what may be called extreme ultramontane views.

At the Restoration the prospects of the English Papists seemed to brighten. Charles II. would doubtless have openly declared himself a Catholic if he had thought that he could have done so without forfeiting his throne. But he had the wisdom to remember the advice which Cardinal De Retz had given him in exile, that he would never be restored as a Roman Catholic King. It is certain, too, that he personally wished a large measure of indulgence for the Papists. But any such hopes as these were wrecked by the restless intrigues of the Jesuits, with their extravagant pretensions. As Clarendon said, in reference to an earlier period, most of the Papists 'were looked upon as good subjects at Court, and as good neighbours in the country,' but 'they were not prudent managers of this prosperity.' This, indeed, they certainly were not—at least, the ultramontane section. Beyond the fact that the public celebration of their religion was forbidden, the Roman Catholics generally suffered little molestation in person or in property; and Clarendon did not much exaggerate in saying that since the Restoration they had not 'sustained the least injury to their religion, but enjoyed as much liberty at Court and country as any other men, and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied.'[1] Unfortunately it was not the wisest who made themselves the most conspicuous; though they lost no opportunity to express their disapproval of the conduct of the Jesuits. The Earl of Bristol, for example, used to say that he was 'a Catholic of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome—a true Roman Catholic to the other world, but a true Englishman as to this.'[2] This was a distinction, which was also a difference, and should have been remembered by those English Protestants who, not without reason, were persuaded that a sincere Papist could not be a patriot. It was a common belief that some at least of the Catholics preferred to have the penal

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and *Autobiography*

[2] Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 220.

laws enforced, in the hope that persecution would drive the great body of them into rebellion, and so give a pretext for the interference of foreign Roman Catholic princes, who, it was hoped, would come to their assistance. But none but a few fanatical Jesuits were guilty of such folly, and it is certain that most of the better classes of Englishmen would have been glad to see the penal laws abolished or allowed to fall into abeyance. Clarendon was one of these, and very sagacious was his counsel. 'I may,' he said, 'after all this, reasonably wish and advise all my countrymen, the Roman Catholics who are his Majesty's subjects, and live within his Majesty's dominions, and under his protection (towards many of which I have always performed all offices of friendship, and towards none whereof I have ever showed prejudice for their opinion), that they will seriously consider whether they do not highly offend God Almighty in refusing to give that security to the King for their duty and allegiance towards him as the laws require for them, and which contain no other obligations than Catholic subjects stand bound in to their Catholic Kings.'[1]

That the political bias of the English Roman Catholics inclined naturally towards the Tory side there is, as has already been observed, good reason for supposing. But it is equally clear that the Tories, on their part, did not cordially embrace them as allies. Nay rather, the Cavalier House of Commons lost no opportunity of showing their dislike. They began by passing an Act that made it a penal offence to allege that the King was a Papist. As to Charles's proposed Declaration of Indulgence, they would not listen to such a notion for a moment. Pepys tells us how much passion was aroused in the course of the debate upon the subject. It was to no purpose that the King in his speech at the opening of Parliament pressed the claims of the Catholics, 'who, having served my father and myself very well, may fairly hope for some part in that indulgence I would willingly afford to others who dissent from us.'[2] But to a House packed with strong Anglicans such an appeal was made in vain. They instinctively thought of the Jesuits and their tenets, which justified resistance to secular princes and some-

[1] Clarendon's *Religion and Policy*, vol. ii. p. 667.
[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 259.

thing more. Extremes meet, and by a natural association of ideas they proceeded to identify the political principles of the Dissenters and the Papists. It is, indeed, true that the Papal and Presbyterian theories of government are at bottom much the same ; for both are founded on the notion that the State should be subjected to the control of some organised ecclesiastical body. And it was but a step forward to conclude that Papists and Dissenters were equally guilty of fomenting the spirit of sedition in the subject. The Quakers, in particular, were stigmatised as Jesuits in disguise.

It is quite evident, therefore, that the great body of the Tories viewed the Roman Catholics with a good deal of suspicion.

This suspicion, always latent, was evidently aroused by the acts of the 'Cabal.' Whispered mutterings were heard. The fate of the Declaration of Indulgence heralded the oncoming of the storm, and in 1673 it broke. Then it was that the Test Act was passed, 'to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government.' Aimed directly at the Catholics, the Act struck also at the Nonconformists ; but the Churchmen were in no mood to be nice in their distinctions. It was made obligatory upon all persons holding office, civil or military, to take publicly the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ; to produce evidence of their having taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England ; and to disavow the doctrine of transubstantiation. Failure to do so involved loss of office, a fine of five hundred pounds, and incapacity to sue in a law court, or to act as a guardian or an executor, or to take a legacy under a will. There was, indeed, one thing which the House of Commons was resolved never to permit, and that was to let loose the Enceladus of Popery. The effect of the Act was striking and immediate. The Duke of York resigned his office of Lord High Admiral, and Clifford, who had the honesty to avow himself a Papist, left the Treasury. Retiring to his home in Devonshire, he did not long survive ; and there is reason to suppose that he died by his own hand. It was rumoured that Arlington himself proposed the Test Act out of jealousy arising from Clifford's appointment as Lord High Treasurer. The tale, if true, adds just a touch of piquancy to the domestic history of the 'Cabal,' and throws a flood of light upon the relations

towards one another of its members. The Test Act, at any rate, proved its death blow, and in 1674 this most singular of Cabinets was broken up. Shaftesbury was dismissed, and went over to the opposition; while Arlington himself sank into comparative obscurity. As for Buckingham and Lauderdale, the Commons, when they next met, marked their sense of indignation at their conduct by petitioning the King never again to put them into office. That was one of the seventeenth-century methods of getting rid of ministers who had lost the confidence of parliament.

The foreign policy of the 'Cabal,' or rather of that section of it which was admitted into the confidence of the King, culminated in the secret Treaty with France, an event that marks an important epoch in the history of Toryism.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries what may be styled the spirit of nationalism in Europe had been steadily developing, and, as has been already remarked in a previous chapter, the movement in England was probably stronger than elsewhere. To this topic there will be subsequently occasion to recur; suffice it here to say that notwithstanding the strength of English national sentiment and of English insular prejudices, French influences found their way across the Channel. There can be no question, indeed, that in Court circles and in the upper social class French influences prevailed to an extraordinary extent. An attempt made by Charles II. to resist French domination in matters of costume gave rise to a very curious incident that threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. The substitution of a new Court dress in place of the French style, which had hitherto been worn, if it did not eclipse the gaiety of nations, at all events made diplomatists look grave. It was in 1666 that the King resolved, says Evelyn, to adopt a novel or 'Eastern fashion of vest': [1] that is to say, after 'the Persian mode,' with the intention 'never to alter it, and to leave the French mode which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach.' Pepys tells us that it was the King's desire to teach the nobility thrift, but if his description of the dress is a correct one, it could scarcely have been cheap. It was, he says, 'a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth piped

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg.'[1] Lord Halifax affirms that the object of the change was that 'we might look more like a distinct people, and not be under the servility of imitation,' adding that the French first wished to make the world their apes, that they may be afterwards their slaves.[2] But, however that may be, the project of the new dress seems in a manner to have pleased the English national sentiment, which rather liked to show its independence in this somewhat trivial way. Sir William Temple, the British plenipotentiary at Brussels, found time from his diplomatic duties to write home that the King's resolution to adopt a certain habit 'by which the nation shall be known' was much applauded by the English residents. 'I should be glad to know,' he asks his correspondent, 'that it is likely to be as constantly observed as it is wished and honourably resolved.'[3] But this sense of satisfaction was just a little premature, for events soon took a rather serious turn. Louis XIV. was so incensed at this piece of what he thought to be English independence, that he hit on an ingenious plan to bring the new costume into contempt. He, so Pepys tells us, 'in defiance to the King of England caused all his footmen to be put into vests,' and ordered the noblemen of France to follow his example. The thought of all the footmen in France wearing the new Court dress was more than even Charles could endure with equanimity, and nothing more was heard of the proposal. At the Restoration French influences began to prevail in high places in an unprecedented manner. Charles himself was half a Bourbon, and had spent some of his most impressionable years upon the soil of France. What wonder if he had imbibed much of the spirit of its people, a spirit, too, which was already half his own by hereditary instinct? At his coronation he began to reveal in what direction the current of his mind was setting, when he insisted on adopting French etiquette. 'This,' says Clarendon very justly, 'issued from a fountain from whence many bitter waters were like to flow, the customs of the court of France, whereof the King and Duke had too much the image in their

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.
[2] Foxcroft's *Life of the Marquis of Halifax*, vol. ii. p. 327.
[3] Courtenay's *Memoirs of Sir W. Temple*, vol. i. p. 239.

heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.'[1] But this leaning of the King would not have mattered much, if it had been limited to the superficial embroideries of life. Unfortunately it went a good deal farther, and extended, to the great misfortune of his country, to principles of government. It was in France, so we are assured by Clarendon, that he learned to despise the Privy Council, 'as if it shadowed the King too much, and usurped too much of his authority, and too often superseded his own command.' And, he goes on, in this he was supported by the Queen, his mother, who also spoke with indignation of the 'little respect and reverence that by the law or custom of England was paid to the younger sons of the Crown,' the model of France being 'much more preferable.'[2] Burnet brings similar testimony. Charles, he says, 'had made such observations on the French Government, that he thought a King who might be checked, or have his ministers called to account by a Parliament, was but a King in name,'[3] and that 'all the flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were absolute, that in France more particularly.' Add to this the influence of Arlington, who, says Clarendon, 'believed that France was the best pattern in the world,' and it can no longer be wondered at that Charles was not an apt pupil for learning the principles of English constitutional government.

Charles II. might affect French fashions and dream of governing England as Louis governed France. But though English society indulged itself in French comestibles, and dressed itself in the brocades and silks of Paris, it had no intention of submitting to what it considered would be a national degradation. The great mass of the people, though tolerant of French influence in the smaller things of life, were resolved not to endure it in the greater. In the depths of their hearts they loathed the French modes of government, and despised those who were mean enough in spirit to accept them. The French, indeed, were so unpopular in England that their Ambassador, De Cominges, was twice besieged at the Embassy by the mob, and had his windows

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.
[2] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 169.

broken; and his predecessor, D'Estrades, was shot at.[1] They were generally thought of as a pack of cringing slaves. Burnet, for instance, in speaking of his travels, says that he went from Holland, where everything was free, to France where nothing was free; and he relates that the flattery of the French courtiers exceeded 'what had been offered to the worst of the Roman Emperors.'[2] The belief that France was being ground beneath the heels of a military despotism was one reason why a standing army was regarded with such feelings of repugnance. The Guards were an institution, so it was alleged, 'after the French mode'; and the bringing over of Count Schomberg to command the army under French military discipline was excessively unpopular. That the mass of the French population suffered extreme poverty under the burden of taxation was an article in the Englishman's creed to which he firmly held; and it was in allusion to this that some parliamentary humourist one day placed a pair of wooden shoes and some canvas breeches upon the Speaker's chair.[3] There was, of course, much insular prejudice, and a good deal of ignorance displayed in this attitude of mind; but at bottom there was a sense of national pride and a spirit of manly independence. It was precisely this sense and this spirit which Charles, and that section of the Tories who in this matter acted with him, so outrageously affronted.

For what was involved in 'the invisible league with France,' which took concrete form in the Treaty of Dover? It was nothing less than that Charles was to be made independent of his parliament and to endeavour to undo the Reformation by re-introducing Popery. Louis, on his side, hoped to reduce England to impotence by playing off Charles and the House of Commons against one another. And while Charles was to be paid down a sum in cash, he was to back Louis in his designs upon the liberties of Europe by placing English troops at his disposal. If there was ever a policy that can be justly described as anti-national, it was surely this one. The recruiting of Englishmen for service with the French was particularly resented. In 1675

[1] Jusserand's *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, p. 15.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 378.

[3] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 239; The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv., parts 3 and 4: The Marchmont Papers, p. 111.

the House of Commons presented addresses to the throne asking for the recall of English regiments from France, and representing that many English soldiers were joining the French army as recruits, because they were encouraged to do so 'by the continuance of a standing body of your Majesty's subjects in that service.'[1] In 1676 a Bill was read for recalling English soldiers out of France;[2] and it was furthermore resolved that all persons who had been privy to the sending of them should be deemed enemies of their country. To such a pitch of indignation was the House of Commons moved! And the more the truth became known, the more loudly did the sound of angry murmurs re-echo through the kingdom. Bishop Parker said that 'there were two things which, like Circe's cup, bewitched the men and turned them into brutes—namely, Popery and French interest,' and, though the language is strong, it does not overstate the case. Never perhaps did patriotic feeling reach so low an ebb as it did during the reign of Charles II. among that small inner governing clique which dominated the 'Cabal.' Though nominally Tories, they embarked on a policy that was anything but Tory in its essential characteristics—a policy that inevitably tended not to consolidate the nation, but rather to divide it. The worst acts of this reign cannot justly be laid to the account of the great body of the Tories. The French alliance must rather be regarded as a malignant growth or an excrescence which struck root into the nation.

Upon the fall of the 'Cabal' in 1674 a new Government was formed. It was this time a homogeneous Tory Government, but it practically consisted of one man. For a period of four years, until his impeachment in 1678, the Earl of Danby was something more than chief minister. He was almost a sole minister who worked with the assistance of his servants rather than with the co-operation of his colleagues. It was a wonderful position, and withal but an incident in an extraordinary career, which was prolonged through no less than four reigns. After Clarendon the greatest Tory statesman of his time beyond comparison was Danby.

Sir Thomas Osborne, subsequently Viscount Latimer, Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds, was

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iii. p. 185. [2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iv. p. 131.

descended from Sir Edward Osborne, who was Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Born in 1631, the son of Sir Edward Osborne of Kiveton, Yorkshire, he was brought up in strongly Royalist traditions; so that when at the Restoration the young baronet was introduced at Court by the Duke of Buckingham, his way was smoothed by the remembrance of faithful services performed. Elected member of parliament for York in 1665, he soon distinguished himself by the pertinacity of his attacks upon the great minister Clarendon, to whose fall he was one of the chief contributors. His rise was singularly rapid. In 1668 he received his first appointment as Treasurer of the Navy; and in 1673 and 1674 he became in quick succession Baron Osborne, Viscount Latimer, Earl of Danby, and Lord High Treasurer. His, too, was not merely the name but the reality of power. To have worked his way to this pre-eminence within a decade was a startling achievement, even in an age which was fruitful in surprises and marked by kaleidoscopic turns of fortune. In the whole gallery of Tory statesmen there is no more interesting figure than the personage who is best known to posterity as Danby. What manner of man, then, was he who for so long had a great party at his bidding?

In appearance he was dignified and handsome. 'A comely gentleman,' says Pepys;[1] but as years wore on, his keen intellect and restless disposition combined with failing health to despoil his fine and aristocratic features. Like Cassius, he had 'a lean and hungry look.' In old age his pale and wrinkled countenance and emaciated form—which seemed to bear witness to his unconquerable spirit—were turned to account in lampoon and caricature. He was, says Evelyn, who knew him well when they both lived abroad in France before the Restoration, of 'excellent natural parts';[2] but his words hardly do justice to his unquestionable talents. He was dexterous, bold and indefatigable; and if he had not Clarendon's massive and comprehensive mind, he was more alert to read the signs of the times; he knew men better; and he was above all an astute parliamentary manager. From the worst vices of his times he was personally free, but his integrity was by no means above

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

suspicion. It cannot be supposed that one who thought so poorly of the politicians who thronged the House of Commons and hung about the fringes of the Court was moved by high ideals, or that he never stooped to yield to the importunities of a strong-minded and avaricious wife. It is, indeed, alleged that suitors for offices obtained them by giving money to his lady, who had for some time driven on a private trade of this sort, 'though not without his Lordship's participation and concurrence.'[1] The fact at any rate that a Bill was brought into the House of Lords in 1679 for preventing the Lord High Treasurer and other ministers from making undue advantages out of their places, is significant of much.[2] His sense of honour was not nice; nor is it possible to say, as the records leap to life, that his reputation has not suffered. He was capable in extreme old age of garbling correspondence,[3] just as in the plenitude of his powers he could descend to discreditable subterfuge. But tried by the standard of his time—as it is only fair to try him—Danby was morally superior to many politicians who had not a tithe of his abilities.

Such, briefly, was the character of the man to whom was entrusted the conduct of affairs upon the break-up of the 'Cabal.' There were two things, in particular, which brought him into favourable notice with the King: first, he had helped to rid him of the now intolerable Clarendon, and secondly, he had shown himself to be what few then were—a competent financier. Clarendon, who had good reason for disliking him, contemptuously dismissed him as 'a dependent and creature' of Buckingham;[4] but he was not the man to be the lackey of any man alive, much less of such a restless whirligig as the Duke had shown himself to be. It must, moreover, in fairness be admitted that Danby was not merely moved by personal spite or envy in working for Clarendon's dismissal, and that he put his finger on the weak place in that great man's administration of affairs. He perceived, what Clarendon did not, that the House of Com-

[1] Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 82.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xi., appendix ii.: The Papers of the House of Lords, p. 119.

[3] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xv., parts i. and ii.: The Papers of J. Eliot Hodgkin.

[4] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

mons was growing in relative importance; and he rightly attacked him for his failure to treat it with more consideration. When the House was clamouring for Clarendon's disgrace, Sir Thomas Osborne rose and declared that he had no pique against him, but 'as one of the four hundred (of the House of Commons) thought by the Chancellor useless and inconsiderable'—a remark that doubtless exactly expressed the feelings of his hearers.[1] Danby, therefore, in tripping up Clarendon, pleased the King and the House of Commons too. But it was as a master of finance that Danby had most to recommend him to the notice of a spendthrift monarch who had just declared the national treasury bankrupt, and though his methods were dubious, he certainly succeeded in restoring a financial equilibrium.

It is one thing to climb to power, but quite another to found your claim to hold it upon a strong and lasting basis. This was the problem that confronted Danby, and he essayed to solve it by reverting in a large measure to the policy of Clarendon. He quite frankly made a bid for the Cavalier and Anglican support which the 'Cabal' had so recklessly alienated; he sought to re-establish the alliance of the Churchmen and the Royalists, and to build upon this basis the exaltation of the Crown. By the irony of fate he was driven to take up the position of the minister he had been at such pains to overthrow. A strong monarchy based upon a strong State Church; episcopalianism allied with the aristocracy; a national policy in regard to foreign affairs; Protestantism as against Popery—that, in a few words, was the ideal of statesmanship with which the new minister set out; and as a compendium of the better Toryism of the day it had much to recommend it. Roger North has described Danby's position in a passage of more than usual accuracy for a writer who was above all things a party advocate. He 'founded his policy,' he said, 'upon the Protestant Cavalier interest and opposition to the French; which he carried on steadily, so far as he thought consistent with his post at Court, and also with a popular interest in Parliament. And that management of himself and also to appear opposite to Popery, had rendered him

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 382; Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 23.

very strong. He was the first Prime Minister (if I may except old Clarendon who came in with the King) that built upon that foundation, and never wrought with either fanatics or Papists, but courted the loyal gentry.'[1] Burnet, who was no partisan of Danby, said much the same thing in other words; that he 'set up to be the patron of the Church party, and the old Cavaliers'; that he declared that the King had all along neglected his best and surest friends; and that 'so a new measure was taken up of doing all possible honours to the memory of King Charles I. and to all that had been in his interests.'[2] With this object the equestrian statue of Charles I. was brought out of the dust and darkness of its hiding-place to be set up at Charing Cross, and a proposal was made to re-inter the 'martyred' monarch's body with all the magnificence of a great state ceremony.[3]

The history of the Danby administration—dull and commonplace though it may appear to be after the bizarre performances of the 'Cabal'—is of no small interest from the party point of view. It was during these four years that the two great English parties began more distinctly to crystallise themselves in Parliament. The interest, indeed, of Danby's government lies rather in his methods than his principles. If the second were getting a trifle stale and musty, the first had at all events something of the charm of novelty.

The new Government was no sooner placed in office than it showed that it intended to act up to its professions. The first blow fell upon the coffee-houses, which, as has already been observed, had seriously embarrassed Tory statesmen who looked askance at political discussions. A proclamation was issued, recalling all licences for the sale of coffee and ordering all coffee-houses to be closed, upon the ground that by the meeting of disaffected persons in them 'divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised and spread abroad to the defamation of his Majesty's Government and the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm.' Whether legal or not—and its legality was much disputed—the proclamation produced a great

[1] North's *Examen.*

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time,* vol. ii. p. 53.

[3] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 465, 512.

sensation. Even the Tories had learned to regard the coffee-houses as an indispensable resort, where the journals could be read and the latest news could be talked over with their friends. The feeling was so strong that the proclamation was hurriedly withdrawn, though the keepers of the houses were warned to be more careful in the future as to the kind of journals they admitted and the kind of talk in which they allowed their customers to indulge. The whole affair, in short, was a political fiasco, and in fact a victory for the democratic forces, which not even under a Tory regime could be repressed. The second blow struck at the Dissenters, and as the Tories themselves were not affected by it, it fell with much more serious effects. If Clarendon chastised the Dissenters with whips, Danby chastised them with scorpions. Repression of nonconformity was the *raison d'être* of the State and Church policy which Danby had adopted, and a measure of this kind was, therefore, but to be expected from him. He not only induced the King to issue proclamations to put the repressive laws in force, but he directed the bishops to prepare statistics of the numbers of the Papists and Dissenters in each diocese with the object of demonstrating how bodies so numerically insignificant could be persecuted with impunity. It was a cowardly plan, and one that after all showed but little political sagacity. 'Let them alone and they will preach against each other; by this Bill they will incorporate as being under one calamity.' That was Waller's comment upon the Conventicle Act of a few years before; and it has to be admitted that, in this instance at least, the poet exhibited not only more humour but also more acumen than the statesman. But even the putting into force of the old laws was not enough; a fresh and more effective weapon was desired. A new Oaths Bill was, therefore, introduced into the House of Lords. The best comment on the Bill is perhaps that of Marvell, who declared that 'no conveyancer could ever in more compendious or binding terms have drawn a dissettlement of the whole birthright of England.' The Bill passed the Lords and was sent down to the Commons, where it would almost certainly have passed, had not a violent dispute between the two Houses upon a question of privilege given the King a pretext to prorogue parliament.[1]

[1] Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 203.

We have said that Danby's methods were more novel than his principles; and it is certainly the fact that to him belongs the doubtful honour of inaugurating an organised method of bribery in Parliament. The credit of the invention of the plan belongs to Clifford, but Danby was the first to raise it to a system. He used to say that members of parliament at the end of every session 'came about like so many jackdaws for cheese.'[1] The maxim of statecraft that every man has his price was for many a year the dry-rot of English politics, and its practical application is in the first instance due to Danby. That he should have found it an indispensable expedient seems to show that the opposition party in the House of Commons was steadily increasing. A Tory premier would have scarcely felt the need to bribe, if he could have always felt secure of a Tory parliamentary majority. And that majority he might have had, if his views of the prerogative had been such as the average Tory would have been willing to accept. But this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, in spite of his acknowledgment of the House of Commons as the ultimate court of political appeal, he acquiesced in Charles's claim to be his own foreign minister and to enjoy immunity from criticism. He recked not his own rede. In so doing he played into the hands of that small clique of ultra-Tories who were prepared to help Charles in his designs for imposing on the country French domination, Roman Catholicism, and arbitrary government. It was a fatal acquiescence; the more so that Danby was personally hostile to Charles's cryptic intrigues with Louis XIV. That he was no friend to the French interest is proved by the fact, if proof were needed, that it was he who planned and brought about the marriage of William, Prince of Orange, with Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York. But Danby, in his relations with the King, was either too weak or—as is more probable—his intellectual convictions were at fault. At the supreme moment he allowed without protest a formal arrangement to be made between the French and English monarchs, whereby they agreed not to make any treaties except by mutual consent, and under which Charles was to receive a pension upon the understanding that he would prorogue or dissolve any

[1] Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 238.

Parliament that attempted to force such treaties upon him. It was an infamous transaction. To attempt to unravel the tangled threads of intrigue would be tedious and of little use for the purpose now in hand. It must be enough to say that it was Danby whom the hand of Nemesis struck down. He quickly learned that the House of Commons possessed very different notions of ministerial responsibility from those which he himself put forward. The English Constitution had no use for a premier who knew neither how to govern nor to resign.

It was in 1678 that the blow fell. Through the treacherous machinations of Montagu, who had been plenipotentiary in Paris, the whole story of Charles's dealings with the French King was revealed to the House of Commons. Their indignation was intense and Danby was immediately impeached. It was alleged that he had 'traitorously encroacht to himself regal power' by treating with foreign ministers and ambassadors without consulting the secretaries of state or the Privy Council; that he had endeavoured to introduce an 'arbitrary and tyrannical way of government'; that with this object he had designed to raise a standing army under the pretence of preparations for a war with France: that he had continued the said army notwithstanding the resolutions passed by parliament for its disbanding; and that he had asserted in the Council Chamber that a new proclamation is better than an old Act.[1] The temper of the Commons may be guessed from the words of Mr. Powle, who, in the course of the debate, asserted that Danby was 'the person to whom we owe the raising of a standing army to enslave us and our religion.'[2] The allegations were untrue, but in his own speech in his defence Danby set up a proposition to which it was impossible for the great mass of the Tories to assent. He affirmed that the letters to Montagu (which contained Charles's overtures to Louis) were written by the King's command upon the subject of peace and war, 'wherein his Majesty is at all times sole judge and ought to be obeyed, not only by all ministers of State but by all subjects.'[3] There had been a time

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. iii. p. 50; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 695.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 1115.

[3] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 348.

in English history when such a proposition would have been an accurate statement of constitutional practice, but it had already passed away. Danby was in fact more conservative than the great majority of the party which he led, and in his claims for the royal prerogative he in effect reverted to the theories which prevailed before the Civil War. He was forty years behind the times.

It is to the credit of Charles II. that he valiantly stood up in defence of Danby in the hour of his distress. He justly valued him as a very able and faithful minister; and when he told Sir William Temple that after Danby's fall there was no one with whom he could consult confidentially upon affairs of State, he very likely spoke the truth. He certainly did so when he told Danby that he had only two friends in the world—his own merits and the royal favour. And just as Danby attempted to support the King in his claim to arbitrary rule in the sphere of foreign affairs, so the King did not shrink from arbitrary action in finding expedients for sheltering his fallen minister. He resolved to pardon Danby even in defiance of the Lord Keeper Finch, who thought that such action was illegal and himself refused to seal the warrant. But Charles was not to be hindered by any such consideration. He sealed the document himself, saying that if there was any defect in the form, 'I will give it him ten times over, for I will secure him in his person and his fortune'; and that he was determined that it should be full and sufficient for the purpose he designed it.[1] The dissolution of parliament delayed proceedings for a time, but his enemies were bent on the destruction of the Treasurer. Like all strong politicians he had aroused many animosities. Burnet goes the length of saying that he was 'the most hated minister that had ever been about the King.'[2] His stateliness and inaccessibility made him, to say the least of it, unpopular; but it is only fair to add that his charities were munificent. That his political opponents should not have drawn his character in very favourable colours was of course to be expected; but the expressions used by Thomas Stringer—who for a time was Shaftesbury's secretary—seem

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. p. 19.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 92.

to hint that the dislike of Danby did not arise solely from political polemics. A man who could be described as 'a bold undertaker, a brazen liar, a violent prosecutor of malice and revenge,' must surely have been wanting in those personal amenities that do so much to soften the asperities of life.[1] But however that may be, the administration of Danby was a lamentable failure. He assured the King, says Burnet, that if he would leave things to his conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier party again to him. So far from doing that, he alienated them more than ever from the throne.

We have said that Danby was practically not only the Prime, but the sole Minister, in the administration to which he has given his name. There were but two among his colleagues who rose above the level of respectable nonentities. The first of these was Heneage Finch, the first Earl of Nottingham. Political sympathies are to a large extent hereditary; and the family of Finch continued for several generations to occupy a leading place in the councils of the Tories. One of his kinsmen had been Lord Keeper in the reign of Charles I. At the Restoration Heneage Finch, who had achieved a great forensic reputation, was made Solicitor-General, and, as such, soon showed of what political metal he was made. When Milton was brought before the House of Commons and discharged, and the Sergeant-at-arms demanded of him one hundred and fifty pounds for fees, Finch improved the opportunity by declaring that the poet instead of paying the fees deserved to be hung. 'The smooth-tongued solicitor,' as Evelyn called him, was in fact an uncompromising Tory. He wrote a pamphlet—to which he did not put his name—on the trials of the regicides, and he did not mince his words. A document, which purported to give 'a summary of the dark and horrid decrees of those Cabbalists, preparatory to that hellish fact,' was not likely to err on the side of moderation. He strenuously supported the accepted Church and State policy of the Tories with its accompanying repressive legislation; and as Attorney-General, he argued strongly for the Declaration of Indulgence, going so far

[1] Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. Appendix iii., Fragment of a Memoir, by Thomas Stringer.

as to affirm that the King possessed the power to dispense with all laws, 'in order to the preservation of the kingdom.' To a man with Finch's gifts, and holding such opinions, the way to eminence was clear; and he was not long in reaching it. On Shaftesbury's dismissal he became Baron Finch and Lord Keeper, and after a very brief interval, Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Nottingham. As a lawyer it would be hard to overpraise him; for not only was he associated with some enduring legislation—the Statute of Frauds, for example—but he was the first Chancellor to bring order out of the chaos called Equity. But if Nottingham was a great jurist, he was a sorry statesman. His conduct in allowing the King to affix the great seal to Danby's pardon was inexcusably weak; and in fact he soon earned the reputation of being a poor and timorous creature. It was said that he would not attend the House of Lords because he was afraid of Shaftesbury's opposition; and the following squib was handed round:—

> Ask me no more why little Finch
> From Parliament began to winch;
> Since such as dare to hawk at kings,
> With ease can clip a Finch's wings.[1]

As a member of the Government it is clear that Nottingham was almost a negligible quantity.

The second of the two was Sir Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State. The son of a Cumberland clergyman, and educated at Westminster and Oxford, his career was eminently meritorious. At the Restoration he became successively secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas and to Arlington, and Under-Secretary of State in 1665. He became a Clerk of the Council in 1667 and was knighted. Meanwhile, on the establishment of the *London Gazette*, he was appointed to control it, and he employed one Charles Perrot to do for him the trifling literary work that was required. He was next entrusted with a more responsible employment, and was sent in 1673 as plenipotentiary to the Congress of Cologne. So well did he perform his work that Danby made him his Secretary of State. There was probably no one better fitted for the place by training and experience.

[1] *The History of Burley-on-the-Hill*, by Pearl Finch.

For, if we are to believe Evelyn, the easy-going Arlington had entrusted to his Secretary the complete conduct of his business, and thus let him into the secret of affairs. The industrious secretary, 'by his subtlety, dexterity and insinuation,' was quick to grasp his opportunity, and was no doubt a useful man. But that he had really any influence in the Government of which he was a member it is difficult to believe; for Danby would scarcely in that case have dared to keep him loitering in his ante-room for a space of two hours, as it is said that he did on one occasion. Upon Danby's fall from power, Sir Joseph went into retirement to enjoy a cultured leisure; for he was a capital musician, and a man of scientific tastes, becoming in 1687 the President of the Royal Society. As a statesman, however, he can scarcely be said to count.[1]

The year which saw the impeachment of Danby found England in a state of almost unexampled ferment. The policy of the King—his intrigues with France and his Popish aspirations—at last bore their natural fruit in the so-called Popish plot. The air was thick with rumours that floated like motes dancing in a sunbeam. The cesspool of prejudice was stirred to its depths, and an imbroglio of dark political passions rose quickly to the surface. Knowing neither what to believe, nor what to disbelieve, bewildered by the wildest tales, by strange innuendoes and mysterious allusions, the country was worked up into a frenzy of preternatural suspicions. Nations, like individuals, go sometimes mad. There had scarcely been anything like it in history since the panic caused in Athens by the mutilation of the Hermæ. Nor have some of the incidents in the affair been even yet removed from the catalogue of unsolved historical enigmas. Whether there was really any plot at all; whether Titus Oates was the saviour of his country or a kind of modern Catiline; whether Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey died by his own hand or by that of an assassin; whether Coleman was justly tried and executed; whether Bedloe was one of the most infamous of perjurers; whether Tonge was more of a deceiver than a dupe; whether Dangerfield placed a compromising booklet into a meal tub in the house of Mrs. Cellier;

[1] *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, edited by W. D. Christie, Introduction.

whether Sir George Wakeman received a bribe to poison Charles II.—all these and other similar questions are fortunately of a kind into which it is unnecessary for us to enter. They are problems over which the historical detective may occupy his time in trying to find the key. The real significance of the plot, in its relation to the party history of the time, is the sole question which is of interest to us here. Now that the fires have smouldered out and the smoke has partly cleared away, we are enabled to see the outlines of the affair in something like their true proportions.

That there was a plot of some kind—though 'dashed and brewed with lies'—is very likely; and in ordinary times it would probably have excited no attention. But events gave it a factitious importance quite disproportionate to its deserts. It is a remarkable fact that the Roman Catholics, who for the most part lived as loyal citizens, and were really above all distinguished for their unfailing fidelity to the Crown, remained the objects of the most profound suspicion and distrust. If anything, too loyal, their very virtue became almost a fault. There was not a crime of which they were deemed to be incapable in the cause of their religion; and this was one of the few beliefs in which the Tories and the Dissenters shared. If Southampton dwelt on the 'power and malignity' of the Papists, Shaftesbury could say that 'Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand in hand; and sometimes one goes first, sometimes the other; but wheresoever the one enters the other is always following close at hand.' It was the same Shaftesbury, who in 1674 proposed in the House of Lords that an address from both Houses of Parliament should be carried to the King asking for a public fast to implore the protection of God against the machinations of the Papists.[1] And he was successful in his motion. To the Act that it made felony to call the King a Papist, and to the notorious Test Act, there has already been occasion to refer. On at least one occasion the importunities of Parliament prevailed on Charles II. to put in motion the law that expelled all Roman Catholics, priests, and Jesuits from the kingdom. When they came to deal with the Papists, even the most tolerant abandoned their principles. The

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. pp. 323, 343.

liberal-minded Marvell, for example, deliberately affirmed that Popery, 'cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be called a religion; nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used, in speaking of the differences of human opinion about divine matters.' He even spoke contemptuously of what he called the 'transubstantial Solacism.'[1] If these were the sentiments of the educated, it is not to be wondered at that the credulity of the ignorant was boundless. The capital instance is perhaps the popular belief that it was the Papists who set London ablaze in 1666. But this was a belief in which the better classes shared; for it was Sir Patience Ward—afterwards Lord Mayor—who caused the inscriptions to be placed both on the monument and in Pudding Lane, which recorded that the burning of the City was caused by 'the treachery and malice of the Popish faction . . . in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant religion and old English liberty and introducing Popery and slavery.' The House of Commons itself formally proclaimed its belief in this astonishing delusion—a delusion upon which a contemporary versifier expressed himself in terms which were certainly strong, but perhaps not unwarranted by the circumstances:

> The sniffling Whig-Mayor, Patience Ward,
> To this damned lie paid such regard,
> That he his godly masons sent
> T' engrave it round the monument.

The falsehood was a hardy one and lived long. Removed by James II., the inscription was restored at the Revolution, and was finally deleted in 1830, not before Pope had penned his well-known lines:

> London's column pointing at the skies,
> Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies.[2]

But this was a rational belief in comparison with others which were held. It was, for instance, seriously alleged that the Papists kept a stock of gridirons and spits for torturing Protestants.

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition) vol. iv. pp. 250, 252.
[2] Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. pp. 419, 534.

Of the reality of the national hatred of Popery such incidents as these may surely be taken to be quite sufficient proof. No less real was the belief in the existence of the so-called Popish plot among all classes and the great majority of the people. As Roger North put it, 'not to believe the plot was worse than being Turk, Jew, or Infidel'; and again, 'one might have denied Christ with less contest than the plot.'[1] To show incredulity argued a want of piety. *Metuunt dubitasse videri*—men were afraid even to appear to be in doubt. The House of Commons itself unanimously passed a resolution that there existed 'a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried by the Popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the King, and for subverting the Government and destroying the Protestant religion'; [2] and it even expelled Sir Robert Cann for publicly declaring his belief at Bristol 'that there was no Popish plot, but a Presbyterian plot.'[3] Daniel Defoe, who was a youth at the time, said in his maturer years that he firmly believed in its existence; and it is astonishing to read that several years after the terror had subsided, the royal fishmonger was committed to Newgate for having the temerity to say that he would swear that it was the Presbyterians who had really murdered Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey.[4] The intensity of the panic that prevailed can only be faintly realised by those who look calmly back on this amazing episode. So deep was the conviction of an intended assassination of the King, that the House of Commons passed a resolution, that if he came by a violent death, 'they will revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.'[5] It was believed that the Duke of York had a finger in the pie, and he was caricatured in a cartoon as half Irishman and half devil, and setting fire to London. There was a very general fear that the Papists would resort to personal violence, to assassination and incendiarism; and as Roger North put it, 'everyone almost fancied a Popish knife just at his throat.'[6] The death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey—a mystery which historians have not yet been able to explain—went far to

[1] North's *Examen*. [2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vi. p. 126.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 385.

[4] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xv., parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of the Duke of Somerset, p. 108.

[5] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. p. 260. [6] North's *Examen*.

aggravate the panic.[1] Medals were struck representing the Pope directing his murder; ballads were composed and sermons preached in his memory; a special 'Godfrey' dagger was sold by the thousand, which people carried about and placed under their pillows when they slept. The Countess of Shaftesbury is said to have had a set of pocket pistols which she carried in her muff. But of all the expedients for protection against the imaginary assaults of these shadowy and unsubstantial foes perhaps the most remarkable was what was known as the 'Protestant flail.' The invention of one Stephen College, a carpenter, who was known as the 'Protestant joiner,' from his virulent denunciations of Popery, it resembled a life-preserver of a most terrific type, and was used for 'street and crowd work.' Defoe, who used one himself, tells us that 'a pistol was a fool to it.'[2] Less efficacious was the silk armour, introduced by the Green Ribbon Club, which also popularised a hat-ribbon with the inscription, 'No Popery, no slavery,' woven in the stuff. Those who sought security in the silk habit, which was alleged to be proof against the pistols of the Papists, were known as 'hogs in armour.' Never perhaps in history were the elements of comedy and tragedy so strangely blended. The height of comedy was reached at the funeral service of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, when the preacher was guarded in the pulpit by a couple of clergymen to protect him from insidious assault. Roger North has described the scene in his own inimitable manner. 'Beside the preacher,' he relates, 'two thumping divines stood upright in the pulpit, to guard him from being killed, while he was preaching, by the Papists . . . a most portentous spectacle, sure, three parsons in one pulpit.'[3] A spectacle, indeed, to raise a smile among those who are fortunate enough to live in less agitating times. But more real is the pity that we feel for the victims of the tragedy. Fourteen Roman Catholics were put to death for complicity in one of the most trumpery of plots; and three for the alleged murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey—a murder which was

[1] The curious reader may consult Mr. Alfred Marks's monograph, *Who Killed Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey?* and Mr. A. Lang's article on The Mystery of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey in his *The Valet's Tragedy and other Studies*.

[2] Wright's *Life of Defoe*, p. 14. [3] North's *Examen*.

never proved to have been committed. Eight priests were condemned to death for remaining over forty days in England, but of these five died in prison ; thirty more were condemned and reprieved, but no less than sixteen did not survive the hardships of their horrible incarceration. It is a terrible picture for the imagination to contemplate.[1]

It remains to consider the attitude of the Tory party, which, it must be remembered, was the party upon which the government of the day in the last resort relied, and that of the opposition, towards this extraordinary affair. It is to be feared that neither party, nor any public man, who had anything to do with it, can be said to have come out of it with credit. It may be doubted whether any one of those who were the leaders of public opinion at the time had any genuine belief in the wonderful tales of Titus Oates and his associates. But everybody was perfectly willing to make all the capital he could out of this imbroglio of unsifted allegations. The King saw his way to arousing public sympathy for himself, and to tapping a new fount of popularity. The Church was glad to seize the opportunity of showing the sincerity of her Protestantism ; and it is to the credit of Sir Robert L'Estrange that he not only defended the Church against charges of complicity, but also ridiculed the plot in no hesitating terms in the columns of the *Observator*. Whether it was true, as L'Estrange affirmed, that he had the authority of the Government for declaring the plot to be a clumsy fiction, it is impossible to say, but it is certain that Danby was willing to make use of it to divert attention from himself in the hope that in the turmoil his impeachment might be dropped. As for the opposition, or the 'country party,' as it was by this time styled, the plot was to them particularly useful, and gave them just the opportunity they wanted. Halifax said that the plot must be handled as though it was true, whether it was so or not, and he may be taken to represent the opinion of the opposition generally. If they did not invent the plot, they worked it, to use a modern phrase, for all it was worth. So far, indeed, as it had anything at all to do with party, it emanated not from the Tories but from the other side. Titus Oates was, if anything, a Whig, to use the new

[1] Pollock's *The Popish Plot*, p. 196.

term then coming into vogue ; or at all events not many years elapsed before the Whigs spoke of him as the ' first sufferer ' and the ' saviour of the nation.' The conduct of the country party in this critical episode was little less than infamous. Like Marius of old, they desired to wash their hands of participation in a crime, and at the same time to profit by the results ; they allowed themselves to drift into a position of horrible hypocrisy—of abandoning the criminal and yet appropriating the fruit of his offence. They squeezed the orange and threw away the rind.

What then, it may be asked, was the real political significance of this strange episode ? When disengaged from the tangled mass of overlying incidents, does it contain anything vital or essential for the historian ? Above all has it any important place in a history of Toryism ? We think it has. It was, to put it briefly, the natural result of a long-continued and gradually-increasing severance of the government from the great body of the Tories, and of the alienation, not to say the flouting, of their deeply-cherished feelings by the King and his confidential ministers. It showed how a small band of active but mischievous ultra-Tories, as we have ventured already to call them, could sow the seeds of disruption in a once great and united party. There was no fundamental change in Tory policy. It remained exactly where it was—the policy of tradition, of national consolidation, of allegiance to the monarchy and to the ecclesiastical order and theological dogmas of the Church. But public opinion was deeply moved not only by what had been revealed, but also by what was unproved, though suspected. A great revulsion of feeling had occurred. As soon as the nation was given the opportunity of giving articulate expression, however indistinctly, to its feelings, it declared them in unmistakable terms. The forces of Toryism were by this time quickly ebbing. Centrifugal and dissociative tendencies were beginning to out-balance and overcome those that made for integration.

The year 1679 is one of extreme interest and importance in the history of Toryism. In the first place the Cavalier Parliament, which had been elected in 1661, was dissolved. Eighteen years of Tory domination had done their work. A party that long enjoys power not only embitters its enemies but is almost

sure to alienate many of its friends. Unsatisfied ambitions, offended sensibilities, working as time goes on, with accumulated force, sap and undermine the strongest parties no less effectively than the open assaults of the opposition. In the Cavalier Parliament, where the Tory majority was unusually great, disintegrating tendencies were very soon at work. From the very first there was a group of discontented Cavaliers, who represented a considerable body in the country. The fact that several Presbyterians were included in the King's first coalition ministry was in itself a stumbling-stone of offence to the many Cavaliers, who, says Burnet, 'could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted.'[1] Then the Act of Indemnity—the carrying of which was one of the wisest and most honourable events in Clarendon's public life—was hardly less obnoxious. 'All acts of oblivion,' wrote Samuel Butler rather bitterly, 'have of late times been found to extend rather to loyal and faithful services done than rebellions and treasons committed. For benefits are like flowers, sweet only and fresh when they are newly gathered, but stink when they grow stale and wither.' There was, too, the usual crop of disappointments for expectant petitioners for office. Burnet has well described the situation. 'In the disposal of offices,' he says, 'and places, as it was not possible to gratify all, so there was little regard had to men's merits or services. . . . This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them. . . . The angry men, that were thus disappointed of all their hopes made a jest of the title of it, an Act of oblivion and indemnity, and said, the King had passed an act of oblivion for his friends, and indemnity for his enemies.'[2] It was Clarendon who had to bear the brunt of the attack, because, so it was said, he 'neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles.' But the King himself did not escape his share of blame. It is very likely true that he was 'extremely nauseated' by the importunities of greedy or indigent Royalists. They complained at any rate that they got nothing from him but 'sham references to the Treasury,' and that they were paid in 'cold waiting, long attendance,

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 179.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 298.

tricks, disappointments, promises and delays.'[1] The maxim of Charles and his Government was, says Mr. Sacheverell, speaking in the House of Commons in 1678, 'make much of your enemies, your friends cannot hurt you.'[2] Many of the Cavaliers had doubtless lost much during the recent troubles and were a good deal impoverished. Such 'gallant gentlemen' as 'had ruined themselves in the late rebellion' had a genuine grievance. Here was the first little rift within the Tory ranks. The second, which was what we have called the ultra-Toryism of the Roman Catholic section, was much more serious. It was a crack that yawned into a chasm.

During these eighteen years of the life of the Cavalier Parliament, the tide of opposition was gradually swelling into flood. A series of repressive enactments had engendered a bitterness that it was impossible to mollify, and both in and outside the House of Commons the numbers of those who were hostile to the Government increased from year to year. The great Tory majority dwindled to such an extent that it not unfrequently happened that on a division the votes were nearly equal. The by-elections were fought with great energy on both sides, but notwithstanding corrupt influences, the Crown candidates were often beaten. 'We are such a pied Parliament,' wrote a member of the House of Commons in 1675, 'that none can say of what colour we are.'[3] A new party nomenclature, better suited to the time, began to replace the old terms of Cavalier and Roundhead. While the first became the 'Court,' the second became the 'Country party.' Burnet, writing of the year 1669, observed that the names, which had seemed to be forgotten, 'were again revived'; [4] but Pepys notes in his *Diary* in the year 1666 that 'all the country gentlemen are publicly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and they do doubt everything that they propose.'[5] The use of the word 'Country' in this connection is certainly peculiar, because the country squires were Tories to a man. But the sense is clear enough. Roger North

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Third Collection), 'The Dear Bargain.'

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 235.

[3] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv., Appendix: 'A Letter from a Parliament Man to his Friend.'

[4] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 497. [5] Pepys's *Diary*.

relates that the term had been exchanged for that of the 'Party Volant,' which the 'more plausible of the faction formerly affected'; and he indulges in some of that criticism neither accurate nor amiable, which is so characteristic of the man. The 'country' party, he allows, included 'abundance of gentlemen, that meant well, but did not discern to the bottom'; but he adds, 'together with all the malcontents and desperadoes of the republican gang.' That they were a growing parliamentary force he reluctantly admits. 'They prevailed,' he says, 'much in the House of Commons, and by certain arts then used, such as were termed Parliament-driving, they made good their numbers, and very much embarrassed the King's affairs.' It was necessary, in order to 'qualify a country party man,' to oppose money bills and hinder the supplies.'[1] Parliamentary obstruction, it is clear, was a well-known method long before the nineteenth century. The words of Roger North may be fitly balanced by those of Sir John Reresby—a much more open-minded man. 'The former pretended,' he says, 'in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people, in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen, to assert the religion and government by law established. The latter pretended the same, but thought the King was to have a competent income, and to be invested with a due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having too great a dependence on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father.'[2] It is not often that we have a statement of equal moderation from the pages of contemporary memoirs.

The year 1679 found the nation greatly agitated. The shadow of the Popish plot lay athwart the land; the Tory party, both in Parliament and out of it, was visibly crumbling; the opposition, angry and irritated, was massing its forces for the final struggle. Such was the position of affairs when the King, distracted by conflicting motives, dissolved Parliament as a kind of counsel of despair. The general election that followed was contested with great passion and amid tremendous excitement. So great was the tension that even the most ordinary phenomena were believed by the ignorant to possess some sinister and ominous significance. A dense fog, for example, in London,

[1] North's *Examen*. [2] Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 22.

one Sunday morning—'so that the people in church could not read in their Bibles,' filled people's minds with consternation. When the total results were counted up, it was discovered that a great political landslide had occurred. The 'country' party gained a great majority, and the King, who in the former House of Commons controlled one hundred and fifty votes, could now only rely upon thirty at the most. The Tories sustained their first great defeat since the Restoration.

The 'Little Westminster' Parliament, as it was called, was short-lived; for in less than three months the King unexpectedly brought it to a sudden end by dissolution. Yet it lasted long enough to allow of some interesting historical events. Looked at from the party point of view, an important change is to be noted—we mean the merging of the Shaftesbury clique, which was formed with the sole object of turning Danby out of office, with the 'country' party as a whole. The actual accomplishments of the Parliament were such as might have been expected from the political majority. Its actions were all plainly anti-Tory. It procured, for instance, the disbanding of the army, whose existence it thought to be inimical to freedom; it pressed forward Danby's impeachment in the teeth of the King's pardon; it allowed the Licensing Act of 1662, with its strangling regulations for the censorship of the press, to fall into abeyance; and, above all, it passed the Habeas Corpus Act. For the latter achievement perhaps the 'Little Westminster' Parliament has got more credit than it in reality deserved. If it be true, as the story goes, that the Bill only passed its third reading in the Lords by the Tellers counting one fat peer as ten, then for this great bulwark of liberty we are indebted to a joke. So strangely blended is the comic with the serious!

Before the 'Little Westminster' Parliament was dissolved the political temper of the House of Commons was displayed in an unmistakable manner by the passing of the Exclusion Bill. Never perhaps did any event occur fraught with such momentous consequences to the history of English parties. For it is not too much to say that it led directly to the formation of the two great political parties under the names by which they have subsequently been known.

The terror that the Popish plot inspired greatly accentuated

the feeling of uneasiness with which the prospect of a Roman Catholic succession to the throne was regarded by the nation. The exclusion of the Duke of York became what, to use the jargon of to-day, would be called a principal plank in the platform of the 'country' party. Things in fact had reached such a point that Protestantism, or rather anti-Roman-Catholicism, had become almost synonymous with liberalism. When, therefore, the Exclusion Bill had passed its second reading in the Commons, the outlook for the 'court' party became decidedly alarming. Charles had not much objection to paring, as he said, the nails of a Popish successor, but he was determined to resist with all his might the efforts which were being made to exclude his brother from the throne. There was but one way of preventing the Bill proceeding any further, and that was to silence parliament altogether. It was an easy way, though it set a dangerous precedent. But such a consideration was foreign to his mind. He, therefore, first prorogued parliament and then dissolved it.

The second general election of the year 1679 resulted in the return of a House of Commons of much the same political complexion as the one that it succeeded. Charles soon found out that he had not solved his difficulties, but had only put off the evil day. It was as certain as anything could be that, when parliament met, the Exclusion Bill would again be introduced. Therefore, like the most transparent opportunist that he was, he resorted to the expedient of successive prorogations. From this piece of trickery there arose a pair of new party appellations, evanescent in character, and dying away with the immediate cause which gave them birth. We mean the 'Petitioners' and 'Abhorrers.'

As might have been expected, the anti-court or 'country' party, which, it must be remembered, had a majority in parliament, viewed these continued prorogations with a just indignation. A more palpable artifice to evade the issue and to cheat the nation out of its right to give itself utterance through its chosen representatives could not have been invented, and if, and so far as, the Tories were responsible for it, they merit the severest condemnation. The popular party would not placidly submit to this imposition of the gag, and they began the practice

of petitioning the King to summon Parliament together. The first petition is said to have been that which seventeen peers presented, but the plan soon became very general throughout the country. The Tories affected to treat the whole matter with contempt. 'It is scarce credible,' said Roger North, 'with what saucy impudence divers came to the King with petitions signed with numberless hands and frightful hieroglyphics.' The getting of the signatures he derided as 'hand-gathering,' and the addresses were, he asserted, stuffed with 'saucy expressions, reflections, and insinuations.'[1] The City of London was distinguished by the zeal which it displayed in adopting this method of defence of constitutional rights. On one occasion the King received the deputation coldly, and told them that he knew quite well how to act without asking their advice.[2] On another, he told them that he looked on himself as the head of the Government, and would do what he thought most for the good of himself and his people. On yet a third occasion, the Lord Mayor, Alderman and Sheriffs travelled to Hampton Court to present their petition; but all they got for their pains was a sound rating from the Chancellor, who told them that they were meddling with matters that did not concern them, and bade them go home and mind their own business.[3] A petition from the gentlemen of Essex brought down the royal censure on their heads, the King saying that he was astonished at their interference with things which concerned the Court alone, and that he had no doubt that they meant well but had been misled by those who did not. Sometimes, however, he was in a better humour, and affected not to take the matter very seriously, as, for instance, when in reply to the Grand Jury of Berkshire, he observed, 'We shall agree better over a cup of ale when we meet at Windsor than we are like to do here. I had thought my neighbours would not have meddled with what does not concern them.'[4] The precise value of these petitions it is impossible to gauge:

[1] North's *Examen*.

[2] Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*, vol. i. p. 463.

[3] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. i. pp. 61, 88.

[4] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of S. H. Le Fleming, p. 165.

perhaps not very much, if it be true, as was alleged, that some purported to be signed by thousands, not twenty of whom really set their hands to them. The organist at Salisbury Cathedral set an example perhaps, which others might have followed with advantage. When asked to sign he answered, 'I understand nothing but music, and, if you please, I will set a tune to it, and that is all I can do for your service.' [1]

The 'court' party were on their side equal to the occasion. If the 'country' party were 'Petitioners,' they themselves became 'Abhorrers.' What Roger North calls the 'genesis of Abhorrence' was in this wise. The King caused a proclamation —drafted by Lord Guilford, who at that time was Lord Chief Justice—to be issued by way of reprimanding the Petitioners. Forthwith addresses of abhorrence of the conduct of the Petitioners became the fashion of the hour. The first addresses were brought up by Sir Francis Withens, Chief Steward of the Franchise Court of Westminster, and Sir George Jeffreys from the loyal citizens of London. The Abhorrers were 'publicly proclaimed, with stentorophonic tube, by that honourable title,' to use Roger North's quaint expression.[2] The addresses came, for the most part, from the grand juries, from the magistrates at quarter sessions, and from the borough corporations. But as many of the latter were under the influence of the Crown, their exuberant loyalty was probably to a large extent factitious. From the constitutional point of view the Abhorrers had certainly a case; for undoubtedly the prerogative of calling Parliament together was one which the Crown might properly claim to exercise without the unsolicited advice of any of its subjects, however well-intentioned. On the other hand the Petitioners had good ground of complaint. Passion ran high, and the nation resounded with the noise of the two contending factions. The very apprentices in London took sides in the fray. While some petitioned, others remonstrated in terms of abhorrence in an address to Sir Patience Ward, the Lord Mayor. The former claimed at least some twenty thousand signatures, against which the latter had only about five thousand to advance. The Lord Mayor received the Abhorrer deputation very courteously, promised to forward

[1] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 48. [2] North's *Examen*.

their address to the King, and ended with a bit of good advice—to go home and attend to the business of their masters.[1] In the dust-clouds of controversy men's intellectual perspective was thrown entirely out of focus. But though the Abhorrers had the advantage of royal favour on their side, the Petitioners, on the other hand, had a majority in parliament. So long as that parliament was kept in a state of suspended animation, it is true that this advantage was not of any use. The weapon of the Petitioners was in fact rendered powerless in their hands. But not even Charles could go on proroguing a parliament for ever. When at last, in 1680, he did call parliament together, the Petitioner majority was angry and embittered. They were resolved not to be baulked of their revenge. The House of Commons passed one resolution declaring all Abhorrers to be 'betrayers of the liberties of the people and abettors of arbitrary power'; and another that 'it is and ever hath been the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the King, for the calling and sitting of parliaments, and redressing of grievances.' It ordered the imprisonment of persons who had signed addresses of abhorrence. It was said by the wits that the House 'kept a hawk' in the person of Topham, the sergeant-at-arms, and 'must every day provide food for him'—from whence the proverbial saying, 'Take him, Topham,' became the popular fashion of the hour.[2] But this was by no means all. The House resolved to purge itself thoroughly of the Abhorrers in its midst. It expelled Sir Francis Withens, whom the King had rewarded with a knighthood for his zeal, notwithstanding his apologies,[3] and Sir Robert Peyton, who was taunted for his alleged former association with a well-known democratic club. The language of the Speaker, in pronouncing his expulsion, was certainly emphatic: 'You are fallen from being an angel, to be a devil.'[4]

These proceedings in parliament were but the first act in the drama. It was not until the Exclusion Bill — which had suffered a temporary death by the prorogations—underwent

[1] John Dunton's *Life and Errors*, vol. i. p. 49.
[2] Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 170.
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. p. 391.
[4] Somerville's *History of Political Transactions and Parties*, p. 102.

a resurrection that the *dénouement*, so to speak, was reached. The re-introduction of the Bill was the grand event for which everyone was waiting either with trembling or with hope, and it was during the turmoil and the tumult of this momentous epoch that the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' were for the first time affixed to the two great English parties. When the seething cauldron of political passion had cooled down, it was found that the two parties had crystallised out and taken a definite shape under the titles by which they have ever since been known in history. In the whole wide range of political nicknames they stand out as the supreme triumph of that peculiar skill which seems to hit instinctively upon the appropriate and the apposite. They caught the popular fancy on the instant, and clung to their objects with the tenacity of bird-lime.

The history of the word 'Tory'—which is the one which is of special interest to us here—deserves a brief consideration. That it was already well known to Englishmen is clear enough. Pepys, for instance, writing in his *Diary* in 1661, relates how he went with Sir William Penn to the theatre, and how after the play was over he 'left him with his Torys.' [1] As Penn was governor of Kildare, it is evident that Pepys was referring to his followers from Ireland. Marvell, too, in his *Rehearsal Transposed*, makes use of the term as though it was familiar to his readers. That it was an alien immigrant from Ireland there is abundant evidence to prove. Nor of the manner of its introduction into English political vocabulary is there any doubt.

It is perhaps not too much to say that it is to the Duke of York, who afterwards ascended the throne as James II., that posterity is indebted almost directly for the word. That he was a conscious agent in the matter it is of course not intended to suggest. But the line of thought, the association of ideas, which in the popular mind brought the nickname and the Duke together is clear enough. The Duke was a Papist, the Irish were Papists, and the English had a horror of the Papists —these were the main ingredients in the process. That he had, through affinity of faith, a touch of sympathy for the Roman Catholic Irish is indeed very probable, and it was at any rate asserted that his affection for them was something more than

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

sentimental. 'It is strange,' says Pepys, writing in 1664, 'how the Duke also do love the Irish above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea took away two-thirds Irish and French.'[1] The English, on the other hand, regarded Irishmen as foreigners and as actual or potential enemies to boot. If we are to believe the second Earl of Clarendon, who dilated in a letter to his brother in 1686 on the Irish bigotry and ignorance, the English had perhaps some ground for their alarm. Many of the Irish, he wrote, believed that 'this kingdom is the Pope's and the inheritance of St. Peter's chair, that the King has no right, further than the Pope gives him authority, and that it is lawful for them to call in any foreign power against those who oppose the jurisdiction of the Church.'[2]

The year 1680 stands out with great distinctness in the history of party. Never before perhaps, nor since, have circumstances been more prolific in engendering party nicknames. Men's ingenuity on both sides was exhausted in inventing terms of opprobrium or ridicule to hurl at their opponents. The 'country' party, for example, were dubbed Birmingham, or Bromingham Protestants, because the place had an evil reputation for the manufacture of base coin. The 'court' party in their turn were denounced as 'Tantivies,' or 'under the abominable name of Yorkist.'[3] Then again, the other side, who arrogated to themselves the title of 'True Protestants'—'implying,' says Roger North, 'the others to be false, just not Papists'—were laughed at as 'True Blues.' At last by a happy inspiration, somebody, we know not who, or where, or how, hit upon the name of 'Tory.' Whether the term 'Whig' preceded that of 'Tory' is not very clear. That arch-Tory, Roger North, will not allow that it was the Tories who were the first to open fire. Nay, he asserts, it was they who were rather sinned against than sinning. His account of the affair is very clear, but it is not so certain that the Tories were as innocent as he would have us to suppose.

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. The following derivations from the Irish have been suggested: 'Toiridhe,' or 'pursuer'; 'Torea,' or 'to stand and deliver'; 'Torain' or 'to give'; 'Tar-a-Ri,' or 'Come, O King,' a Royalist exclamation; cp. Knapp's *Life of George Borrow*, vol.. i. p. 145.

[2] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer, vol. ii. p. 125.

[3] *Cavalier and Puritan*, by Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, p. 67.

'The faction,' he says, 'began the game and not the loyal party, as some now would persuade us.' . . . The friends of the Duke of York were styled 'Bog-trotters,' wild Irish, or, which means the same thing, Tories. And there was such a pregnancy of contempt in that word as made it current, and the loyalists had it at every turn, with the epitaphs of damned, confounded, and the like . . . the loyalists were not at all ashamed of the name, but owned it as their honour. But it was not long before the Tories made full payment by the term Whig.' In some other passages he relates the history of the word in much the same way. The Tories, he says, were wild Irish or Bog-trotters. 'Thus the anti-Exclusioners were stigmatised with execration and contempt as a parcel of damn'd Tories, for diverse months together, and scarce any durst so much as hiss, but must lay by under the prejudice of being loyal, fault enough at that time.' And again he writes, 'these were the appellatives, but the mythology was seditious and loyal. . . . The Whigs declared a war against the person of the Duke of York, who was unhappily declared a Roman Catholic, and they stirred up and abetted proceedings solemnly to have him excluded from succeeding to the Crown. The Tories understood well, that this did not strike more at the Duke than at the King himself, for if the exclusion passed, the King must be deprived of his magistracy and militia, without which the exclusion would not be safe.' The Whigs, too, he adds, were distinguished 'by crying up Oates's plot, and the others by crying it down.'[1] That infamous person is said to have called the Abhorrers Tories, and it would be one of the strangest things in history if the name of a great English party could be traced to this extraordinary source.[2]

It was thus out of the welter of political invective and abuse that the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' suddenly became the distinctive titles of the two parties which since the Restoration had been taking definite shape. The names arose, as Roger North has it, 'according to the common law of scolding,' and in order 'to clear scores.' Both sides, however, soon gloried in the names, the ancestry of which was mean and sordid. The words

[1] North's *Examen* and his *Lives of Lord Guilford and Sir Dudley North.*

[2] I have in the Preface introduced some additional matter touching the connexion of Titus Oates with the word 'Tory.'

were exalted, just as others have been debased, by their associations.

The predominant force of public opinion may be said in the last resort to mould the shape of national events. That force frequently lies passive and quiescent, but at critical moments it is roused into activity. Political parties, it has been truly said, are nothing but the organised and prolonged action of public opinion in its various manifestations. Occasionally at times of great excitement the forms of party become more sharply defined and clearly cut, or while the old decay, from their disintegrated elements spring forth the new. The evolution of party is thus often a kind of biogenesis. Now in 1679 and 1680 there was, indeed, no sudden transformation, but it is not too much to say that public opinion at this point in English history began to be organised and formulated as it had never been before. Political clubs and associations were formed to concentrate and direct the vague and shifting masses of opinion, which, for want of guidance, had seemed hitherto to dissipate their strength in vain and fruitless agitation. It is significant that now we first hear of party colours. Blue was the chosen colour of the Whigs, who were, therefore, nicknamed the 'True Blues.' It is probable that the Tories were first in the field with scarlet, and that the Whigs adopted blue out of a spirit of opposition. At any rate, Roger North informs us that at the school at which Sir Dudley North was educated, the head master, after the Restoration, put all the 'boarders who were of the chief families in the country into red cloaks, because the cavaliers about the Court usually wore such, and scarlet was commonly called the King's colour.'[1] That it was the regular Tory colour there can be little doubt. There was a third colour too which was at this time to the fore—namely green, the chosen badge of a celebrated club.

Of all the political associations which men combined to form in these times of storm and stress, the most conspicuous was the 'Green Ribbon Club.' The creation of the 'country' party, it is of considerable interest as the first political organisation of the kind known in English history. Its headquarters were the King's Head Tavern, at the corner of Chancery Lane and Fleet Street, and its members were distinguished by a green

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford* and his *Examen.*

ribbon, the words 'No Popery, no slavery,' being woven in the stuff—which they wore fastened to their hats. Roger North, as might have been expected, denounced it as 'a troublesome club,' but he adds some useful information about its inner life. Its members, he says, used to sit in a double balcony in front of the club-house with the object of attracting proselytes, and formed what he calls a sort of 'executive power' of the faction all over England. During the Popish terror the club played an energetic part in working up the passions of the populace. But if it made itself ridiculous by recommending the use of the silk armour and the Protestant flail, it added a new word to the language. It gave the name mob—a slang abbreviation for *mobile vulgus*—to the crowd which in November 1680 assembled before the windows of the club to witness the burning of the effigy of the Pope. These, however, are unimportant incidents.[1] What is of abiding interest is the fact that there was a genuine attempt to organise the party through the instrumentality of the club. Here is the germ of those great electoral organisations which in these days are so familiar. It is perhaps not too much to say that in the Green Ribbon Club we have the lineal ancestor of the National Liberal Federation. The club, indeed, if we are to believe Lord Guilford's testimony, went further than any modern party associations would dare to go. Not only were its agents active at election times, but it seems to have practised what is known in the United States as 'lobbying.' Its emissaries frequented the bar of the House of Commons and took care that 'all the members should be minded to repair to their seats before the question should be put,'[2] thus influencing by their pressure the voting in the House. So importunate and persistent was their work in this direction that they brought about a dissolution, 'to the great joy' of the club, which, says Lord Guilford, proceeded to 'model' the new House according to its liking.

The vocabulary of party nicknames was at this period further enriched by a new term. That the word 'Trimmer' was invented by Halifax it is, indeed, impossible to say; but if it was not coined in the mint of that alert and active brain,

[1] North's *Examen*.

[2] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 390; Somers *Tracts*, vol. i.: 'A Seasonable Address to both Houses of Parliament.'

it is certain that it was he who gave it currency. He himself has come down through history as the Prince of Trimmers. A conservative in temperament, but intellectually a theoretical republican, he possessed one of those fine and nicely-balanced minds that love to seek rest in philosophic doubt and to find conclusive reasons for coming to no conclusion whatsoever. In a word, he was a political agnostic. But practical politics have no room for the thinker who beats 'in the void his luminous wings in vain.' A Cicero, who will not enter heartily into any party combination, is apt to be distrusted.

It is a striking testimony to the fervid nature of the controversy which was at this time distracting England that the so-called 'Trimmers' were popularly classed as a party by themselves—a party that merited the contempt of every hearty fighter. Jeffreys, from the judicial bench itself, hurled at them coarse epithets of invective and abuse. 'Certainly here are,' he told a Bristol Grand Jury, 'a great many of those men whom they call Trimmers; a Whig is but a mere fool to those, for a Whig is some sort of a subject in comparison of these; for a Trimmer is but a cowardly and base-spirited Whig; for the Whig is but a journeyman prentice that is hired and set over the rebellion, whilst the Trimmer is afraid to appeal in the cause.'

Once, in an outburst of ferocity, he turned upon a Wapping scrivener who had the misfortune to appear before him as a suitor in a cause. 'A Trimmer!' he exclaimed, 'I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one. Come forth, Mr. Trimmer—turn you round, and let us see your shape.'[1] With Jeffreys political antipathy amounted almost to a monomania or an obsession. He could not even pass by Sir Edward Herbert's elevation to the place of Chief Justice of the King's Bench without exhorting him to 'remember the snivelling Trimmers, because Christ had said in the Gospel that they that are not for us are against us.' He did more than this, he actually told James II. at a meeting of the Council that he had Trimmers in his Court, and he never would be easy till all the Trimmers were sent about their business.

Though it is impossible to say exactly in what manner party

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. pp. 549, 596; North's *Life of Lord Guilford*.

feeling affected the various localities, there is one fact at any rate that stands out with perfect clearness, and that is, that it was in the great industrial centres that Whiggism found the most congenial soil. To say that the conservative spirit must everywhere and always be divorced from industrialism would be obviously untrue ; yet it is the fact that the two have often been found in opposition. The nimbleness of the trader stands in fundamental contrast with the placid immobility of the countryman, and of those whose interests are allied with the old order of affairs. A lingering belief in the essential vulgarity of trade was doubtless one reason why the members of aristocratic families left what they thought to be the pursuit of sordid ends to their political opponents. There are few beliefs which can trace a longer history than this, or which have taken a deeper root in human nature. All readers of the classics are conversant with the feeling of the contempt felt for traders. An idea so different from that which prevails in modern times may perhaps have arisen from a fundamental misconception : from the belief, that is to say, that in a course of fair exchange, neither party ought to benefit. But be that as it may, there is abundant evidence to show that in the English mind both trade and manufacture were associated with vulgarity.[1] Most singular, indeed, is the reputation for dishonesty that clung to the calling of the trader. Even Defoe, whose knowledge of the trading classes was something more than intimate, could not write his *Complete English Tradesman* without enlarging on their ' shop rhetoric,' their ' flux of falsehoods,' and their bags of spurious coin. Pope too appears to have acquiesced in the popular opinion, for he rather bluntly writes :

> Boastful and rough, your first son is a squire ;
> The next a tradesman meek, and much a liar.[2]

That the group of ideas which we have attempted to illustrate did operate to keep the landed gentry from participating in industrial pursuits and commercial enterprise it is impossible to doubt. But it is equally certain that in not a few instances

[1] Cp. Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 24 : ' The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure, and he that hath little business shall become wise.'

[2] *Moral Essays,* Epistle I.

the allurements of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice extinguished their natural repugnance. No amount of Tory prejudice could prevent such a man, for instance, as Sir Dudley North, from going into business and building up a fortune. The squire, moreover, often sought a matrimonial alliance, which, while it flattered the trader, was of great pecuniary advantage to himself, by enabling him to relieve the family from the weight of its incumbrances. The fruits of the industry and patience of the trader were thus applied in many cases to repair the ruin caused by the reckless Cavalier. On the other hand, there was scarcely a merchant who was not ambitious of buying an estate, of entering the charmed circle of the landed aristocracy, and of founding a county family. As Sir William Coventry said in the House of Commons, 'as soon as a merchant has a good stock of money he presently buys an estate.'[1] A London merchant, writing in the time of the Commonwealth, expresses very well what was an animating motive of his class. 'But on the contrary,' he remarks, 'it is the usual custom in England when a tradesman dies that hath children, having raised his estate, to give mean portions to his younger sons, and to make the eldest possessor of the great part of his estate, who addicts himself oftentimes to the pleasures of hunting, hawking and such like pastimes, betaking himself wholly to a country life.'[2] There must have been many cases of new men and old acres. Add to all this the ambition of the merchant princes, who desired to enter parliament as county representatives, and it is obvious that there were many causes working which tended to obliterate the boundary lines which divided the Whig townsman from the Tory, whom time, as it passed, had planted on the land.

At this happy state of things, to which Defoe here testifies, the nation had in the reign of Charles not by any means arrived. The gulf that separated the two classes still yawned much too wide for the peace and prosperity of the country. The Whigs and Dissenters—terms which at this time were unhappily almost convertible—did in fact monopolise a large share of the business in the great industrial centres. This result was due to several

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 116.

[2] Somers *Tracts*, vol. ii. (Third Collection), 'Seasonable Observations humbly offered to his Highness the Lord Protector,' by Samuel Lambe.

causes. First the Protestant refugees from the Continent, who helped to swell the trading body, almost invariably attached themselves to the Nonconformist churches. Then the temperament that gave the native Englishman his aptitude for business was essentially the same as that which made him lean towards popular government and Dissent. The greater his Protestantism, the more self-reliant was he, the more irrepressible, the more impatient of authority. He felt that he was living in the youth and freshness of a newly-dawning age. It was apart from the crowded haunts of men that the old Catholic spirit lingered longest, while it was in the busy seaports that the merchant utilised the new learning, and was driven by the necessity of his calling to distinguish fact from imagination and the laws of nature from the theories of faith. The same intellectual keenness which made him logical and practical in political affairs, tended also to fit him well for business enterprise.

How closely Whiggism and Dissent were associated with the industrial and urban population the Tory and Church party clearly saw, and they did not hesitate to say what they thought in pretty vigorous terms. There was Bishop Parker, for example, who positively revelled in such amiable remarks as these :—' To erect and encourage trading combinations is only to build so many nests of faction and sedition, and to enable these giddy and humoursome people to create public disturbances. For 'tis notorious, that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to seditious practices as the trading sort of people . . . our late miserable distractions ' were ' chiefly hatched in the shops of tradesmen, and cherished by the zeal of prentice-boys and city gossip.' [1] London especially—at this time, before the rise of the great provincial towns, conspicuous by its size—was an object of apprehension and distrust. Evelyn, for instance, remarking that London had doubled in size within his recollection, lamented that it was ' by far too disproportionate already to the nation,' and called it ' this already monstrous city.' [2] Sir John Maynard, the eminent lawyer, in supporting a Bill in Parliament for restraining further building, argued that the growth of London was ' the ruin of the gentry and ruin of religion, leaving so many

[1] Parker's *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie.* [2] Evelyn's *Diary.*

good people without churches to go to . . . and we shall have no religion at last.' [1]

It was not, however, purely disinterested fears about the evils which would flow from a rural exodus, or a nightmare about the impending physical deterioration of the race, which drew from the Tories their expressions of alarm about the growth of London. It was something a good deal more vulgar and prosaic—the prejudice of party feeling. They recognised in the great City, with its swarming and industrial population, the great centre and stronghold of Whiggism and Dissent, and they would have been more than human if they had viewed its increase with perfect equanimity. For the influence of London—'the quick forge and working-house of thought'—upon the rest of the country was immeasurably great. 'Our England of England, and our landskip and representation of the whole island,' as a Tory writer described it, was larger in relative importance than to-day. Sir Robert Howard, speaking in the House of Commons in 1673, put the matter very pointedly by saying, 'We are asked abroad whether England stands in London, or London in England.' [2] It is not to be wondered at that the whole nation watched the politics of the metropolis with an interest that must have often bordered on anxiety.

Even as far back as the middle age the citizens of London had earned a reputation for rebelliousness of spirit. Nor, as time went on, did they become any more submissive. Hobbes observed that 'great capital cities' are prone to insurrection, because their principal grievances are taxes to which merchants 'are naturally mortal enemies.' [3] Throughout the political and religious troubles, and during the Civil War and Commonwealth, the London traders had steadily adhered to the Parliamentary side and to ultra-Protestant opinions. Almost the whole City was said to consist of 'either real or constrained Roundheads,' who stigmatised the small minority as 'Delinquents' or 'Malignants.' [4] It was natural, therefore, that at the general election of 1661 they should have returned four Dissenters to Parliament. It is obvious, indeed, that the re-establishment of

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 39.
[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 301. [3] Hobbes's *Behemoth*.
[4] Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 173.

the Church was in London exceedingly unpopular. 'But that which troubles most,' notes Pepys, 'is the clergy, which will never content the city, which is not to be reconciled to the bishops'; and when the prelates attended service at Westminster Abbey, their unpopularity was manifest. For it is to the same observant Diarist that we are indebted for the following observation:—'But Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect.'[1] The omens for a happy reconciliation were certainly very far from favourable.

During the entire reign of Charles II. his relations with the City can only be described as those of mutual distrust tempered on both sides by flattery and hypocrisy. In 1674, when Sir Robert Vyner entered on his Mayoralty, Charles dined at the Guildhall and at his own request was admitted as a Freeman.[2] But this was a piece of very exceptional cordiality. The aristocracy and the landed gentry, as a rule, were inclined to look upon any one born within sound of Bow Bells as a rather vulgar person possessed with very objectionable notions about affairs in Church and State. The latent disaffection of the City, in short, became a sort of axiom which it was considered insanity to doubt. Laud, for one, did not doubt it; for, so Clarendon tells us, he appointed Juxon to be Bishop of London, in order to have near him 'a man who would be vigilant to pull up those weeds, which the London soil was apt to nourish.' Nor did Clarendon himself, for he styled London 'the sink of all the ill-humour of the kingdom.'[3] A pamphleteer, writing in 1643, undertook to prove that the distraction of the country was 'principally to be ascribed to that rebellious city.' 'I never hear,' he wrote, 'that of the prophet read, woe to the bloody city, it is full of lies and robbery, but I cannot choose but think of London. So that in all England there is but one rebel, and that is London.'[4] Such ideas as these were not the product of a disordered fancy; they were quite gravely entertained. But perhaps the climax

[1] Pepys's *Diary*.

[2] Macpherson's *History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 200.

[3] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.

[4] Somers *Tracts*, vol. i. (Second Collection), 'A Letter from Mercurius Civicus to Mercurius Rusticus.'

was reached, when the 'Court' party secretly rejoiced at the devastation caused by the Great Fire. 'Now,' they said, 'the rebellious city is ruined, the King is absolute, and was never King indeed till now.' The fire, exclaimed one of them in a strain of exultation, 'was the greatest blessing God had ever conferred upon him, his restoration only excepted; for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the Crown, His Majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth and a bridle upon his neck, but would keep them all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought it for his service; there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force.' [1]

When sentiments of this kind were cherished in high places, it is no wonder that the relations between the government and the metropolis were decidedly uneasy. An apprentices' riot, or a silly Anabaptist demonstration, were enough to send a cold shudder down the backs of those who were responsible for the maintenance of order. They were hag-ridden by the fear that the City was honeycombed with republican conspiracies. The great Whig majorities returned to parliament in 1679 and the events attending the Exclusion Bill added fuel to the controversial fire. The City was almost importunate in its presentation of petitions for the summoning of Parliament, while, as a centre of Protestantism its interest in the passing of the Exclusion Bill was naturally profound. When Lord William Russell took up the Bill from the Commons to the Peers he was accompanied by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen—a most unusual incident.[2] Events clearly were verging to a crisis.

The political history of England during the years 1680 to 1685 might almost be described as the history of London. For there it was that the party fight was hottest. Of the plots and counter-plots, of the intrigues, of the blows on either side given or received, the great City was the centre and the scene. As it was the great stronghold of the Whigs, so the Tories made it the great object of assault. It is of no small interest

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.
[2] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 373.

to watch the varying fortunes of the conflict. The Whig leaders turned to the City for support. Shaftesbury—'the daring pilot in extremity'—boldly went into residence in Aldersgate, obtained admission to a guild, and let it be known that he was a candidate for civic honours. At the same time Buckingham took a house in Dowgate, earning the nickname of 'Alderman George' from the King.[1] The proposal of the Sheriffs in 1680 that they should be both admitted freemen, was, however, rejected by the Aldermen. It was not long before the right of empanelling juries became an object of importance in the struggle, and of even greater moment was the power to influence the elections of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. A kind of civic war ensued. 'All the feasting and common good fellowship of the neighbourhood laid aside, and in coffee-houses and corners of the streets, continued debates about party making and party working, and not seldom right down scolding and quarrelling.[2] That is Roger North's description, and it is probably not in the least overdrawn.

The refusal of the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey in 1681 to find a true bill against Shaftesbury brought matters to a head. The breakdown of the proceedings was imputed to the selection of the jury by the Sheriffs. Such a fiasco as this the King resolved should not occur again. For the future such Tory Sheriffs must be chosen as could be trusted to pack a pliant jury. The opportunity desired was not long in coming. The next year the chief magistrate was Sir John Moor, who, if not actually a Tory, was willing to allow himself to be bribed or bullied into compliance with the requirements of the Court. As Sheriff he had earned some popularity by reviving the sumptuous entertainments which his austere predecessors had allowed to fall into abeyance. And if Roger North is to be believed, it was at these revived civic feasts that the custom arose of 'huzzaing' when toasts were drunk. 'So at all the Tory healths, as they were called,' so he tells us, 'the cry was raised of Huzza! which at great and solemn feasts made no little noise, and gave advantage to the Whigs, that liked not such music, to charge the Tories with brutality and extravagance.'[3]

[1] Lady Burghclere's *Life of the Duke of Buckingham*, p. 312.
[2] North's *Examen*.
[3] *Ibid.*

So strangely can things unimportant in themselves be invested with significance in times of great political excitement! It was in this same Sir John Moor that the Tories found a serviceable tool for carrying out their purposes. Into the details of the struggle that ensued it is unnecessary to enter. It must be enough to say that by dint of unscrupulous violence the election of a pair of Tory Sheriffs was secured, and that Sir John Moor in the character of Ziloah earned an immortality—which few perhaps envy him—in one of the greatest satires of all time.

One of the two Sheriffs thus elected was Sir Dudley North, a member of that famous Tory family which produced Francis, Lord Guilford, and Roger the historian and biographer. Of Sir Dudley's economic writings something hereafter will be said. It must for the present be sufficient to observe that great abilities have rarely been so prostituted to unworthy ends as when this original and independent thinker consented to subserve the interests of a party which had cast scruple to the winds. With the power in his hands to pack juries to his liking, the King had very little difficulty in crushing for a time that Whig opposition in the City which he had so much cause to dread. When Shaftesbury fled to Holland, it was made visible to all men that Whiggism, gagged and bound, had become a negligible quantity.

The victorious party were not slow to push forward to the uttermost the advantage they had gained. The City might at heart be Whig; but at least it must be made to appear outwardly to wear the Tory livery. The King and the Duke of York were entertained with great magnificence by the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall. It was not difficult to work up a proper show of enthusiasm in the streets, and the Tories affected to believe that the dutiful conduct of the City, and the gracious condescension of the King, would work miracles in converting hardened Whigs. The trump card, however, was still up the King's sleeve, and the time had now come when he could produce it with effect. The City Corporation must surrender its Charter.

With a subservient bench of judges and a bar that looked to the royal favour for promotion, this was an object which was

easy to attain. The lawyers searched for precedents, and it did not require much industry to find one. An information *Quo Warranto* was laid in the King's Bench against the Corporation for two misdemeanours. In begging the King not to enter judgment up against them the Corporation acknowledged their guilt and expressed their contrition 'for having misgoverned the city for these late years.' The Charter was graciously restored, but upon very humiliating terms. With silent rage gnawing at their hearts the rulers of the City returned to their homes and their businesses, perhaps just a little thankful that they had not been made to suffer in their persons. Charles was, however, very cheerful, for he felt at last, as Jeffreys said, that 'the King of England is likewise King of London.'[1] Yet, if he had been more far-sighted, he would have seen that he had done a bad day's work for his country and his dynasty. Even so good a Tory as Evelyn questioned its expediency. He was, he says, not 'well satisfied with these violent transactions,' and that their consequences were much to the King's 'prejudice.' And he goes on to describe what was done and the sort of impressions which these high-handed acts produced. 'Eight of the richest and chief Aldermen were removed, and all the rest made merely justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gownes or chains of gold; the Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants, as *Custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pompe and grandure of the most august city in the world thus changed face in a moment, which gave great occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.'[2] But prudence had been banished from the royal councils altogether.

Appetite sometimes comes by eating; and the suggestion came quite naturally that, if the great City could thus be made to bite the dust, short work could be made of the boroughs scattered up and down the country. They returned the majority of the members to parliament. Why, it was argued, should not securities be taken that those members for the future should be favourable to the pretensions of the Crown? The absolutists had always looked upon the borough corporations with suspicion; every one of them, said the Duke of New-

[1] O. Airy's *Charles the Second*, p. 397. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

castle, was 'a petty free state against monarchy,' and had taken sides against the Court in the Civil War. Jeffreys—whom the Whig Parliament had asked the King to remove from the recordership of London for his abhorrence of petitioning—was just the man who could be trusted to terrify these holders of 'little brief authority' who flourished in the boroughs. In 1684, while going the Northern Circuit, he did 'great matters towards bringing in the charters'; and Charles was so delighted that he publicly took a ring from his own finger, and put it upon that of the judge who seemed, as it were, to anticipate his wishes. Encouraged by this mark of royal favour, Jeffreys was sent on a kind of state progress through the country to capture the borough corporations. Many of the charters were given up without resistance, and perhaps in this instance discretion was really the better part of valour. For there was no pretext too flimsy to be made a ground of forfeiture. Under these circumstances Jeffrey's task was an easy one. The charters fell before him, as Roger North says, 'like the walls of Jericho,' and 'he returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns.' It was a great triumph for the forces of Toryism.

The attempt to put Shaftesbury on his trial for high treason was the proximate cause of an important event in the history of English literature. On or a little before November 17, 1681, there came from the press a satirical poem which still further fanned the flames of the political conflagration. Rarely, if ever, has a single poem caused a sensation at all approaching that aroused by Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. Published at first, it is said, anonymously, and by the King's desire, it was written, so the preface ran, to please moderate people and, therefore, with blunted satire. One is left to wonder what more trenchant lines an unmuzzled Dryden could have written. The sale was unprecedentedly rapid; so much so that Dr. Johnson used to say that his father, an old bookseller, never knew a case like it except the account of Dr. Sacheverell's trial. It was eagerly devoured by politicians, who enjoyed its biting wit, if they did not wince beneath its lash; and admired by scholars, who exercised their ingenuity in composing Latin versions. It says much for the vehemence of Whig convictions in the City that in its immediate object the poem was a

failure, and that in spite of the tremendous prejudice it created the bill of indictment against Shaftesbury was ignored by the grand jury. But Dryden's magazine of ammunition was very far from being exhausted, and in March 1682 a fresh satire, *The Medal*, written, it is said, on a pattern suggested by the King, was produced to reinforce the old one. There could be no tranquillity for a world that surely by this time must have been jaded by excitement. Every one with a turn for writing verse—and some of those who were without it—rushed into print to write answers to *The Medal*. There was only one of these, *The Medal of John Bayes*, that Dryden deigned to answer, which he did in his *MacFlecknoe*. The miserable Shadwell must have repented of his rashness and inwardly have prayed for the mercy of the silence of the great satirist whom he had so foolishly provoked. But even these triumphs were not enough for Dryden, whose appetite for lashing Whigs it seemed impossible to satiate. In the same year which saw the publication of *The Medal* and *MacFlecknoe*, he returned to the fray with a second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*. To say that portions of this were written by Nahum Tate is but to say that the second part was much inferior to the first.

The series of political satires written by Dryden during the years 1681 and 1682 mark an epoch in the history both of literature and Toryism. In the whole range, indeed, of eminent Tories there is no more interesting figure than that of 'Glorious John.' For it was in his person that literature, in the best sense of the term, was for the first time yoked to the service of politics. There can be very little doubt that as Poet Laureate he was employed by the King and Court party to propagate their policy, and that they found in him the most powerful agency at that time at their command. Both in his plays and in his poems he could confidently be relied upon to serve a party end. In his *Amboyna* he did his best to inflame national sentiment against the Dutch at the bidding of a government which was contemplating war; in his *Spanish Friar* he attacked the Roman Catholic priesthood—an astute bid for popularity when the Popish plot was causing a kind of political delirium; in his *Duke of Guise* he attacked the Duke of Monmouth and the Protestants, when it became the turn of Whiggism to become

the peculiar object of displeasure in high places. But it was in his satires that he was able to manifest his powers to most advantage, and it is not too much to say that as the author of *Absalom and Achitophel* the poet was not only the most prominent literary figure but the greatest force in the politics of his time. There have been many writers of political verse, both grave and gay, since Dryden's time, but none have combined in the same high degree literary merit with effective political partisanship. Never has any political writer turned mere party vehemence to more tremendous and permanent results. Even now his portrait of Shaftesbury :

> Dark convict, seared by History's branding curse,
> And hung in chains from Dryden's lofty verse—

discoloured as it is by the bitterest party prejudice, leaves an ineffaceable impression upon the mind. That the Tory reaction which marked the last five years of the reign of Charles II. was in a considerable measure due to Dryden's influence it is impossible to doubt. If his shafts did not kill Whiggism, they inflicted upon it well-nigh irremediable wounds.

As a typical representative of Toryism Dryden deserves more than a passing notice or a commonplace allusion. His outlook on the world, the texture of his mind, were essentially and irrevocably Tory. He professed no allegiance to any system of political philosophy ; nay, his notions were loose, ill-defined and not always quite consistent. But they were stamped with the ineffaceable hall-marks of Toryism—the love of the traditional, the clinging adherence to the customary, the fear of innovation, and the reverential submission to authority. In saying that an honest man ought to be contented with that form of government and with those fundamental constitutions of it which he received from his ancestors and under which he was born, he showed himself possessed of that innate dislike of change which lies at the root of true conservatism. That he held sincerely that extreme article of Toryism, the belief in the divine right of kings, one would perhaps hesitate to say of one who knew no restraints of language when he indulged in flattery of his sovereign. The man who could call Charles II. 'the best of Kings,' and ascribed the improved

refinement of his age to the Court, and 'particularly to the King' whose example gives a law to it'; who could sit down and write that Charles

> Tamed us to manners, when the stage was rude,
> And boisterous English wit with art endued,

would probably not hesitate to speak of kingship as something sacred or divine. And he did not. But, flattery apart, there can be no question that Dryden combined a sturdy belief in monarchical institutions with a contempt for democracy. The fervour of his royalism was only equalled by the strength of the full-blooded scorn which he poured upon the people. There were occasions when he could express himself with great good sense and moderation; as when he remarked that 'all good subjects abhor the thought of arbitrary power whether it be in one or many.'[1] But when he took his pen in hand to write for party, when he spoke in the accents of a courtier who felt that his place and his pension were at stake, he displayed towards opponents a spirit of what, to put it mildly, can only be described as malignant animosity. His satires, even after a lapse of over two centuries, when their pungency has to a large extent evaporated, seem still almost appalling in their virulence. But not even the satires were enough. A Whig could conveniently be lashed in the prologues to his plays. And, as though opprobrious epithets did not suffice, he did not scruple to insinuate that a Whig was something not very different from an anarchist. If we are to believe Dryden, Whig thinkers anticipated Rousseau in his desire to see civilised mankind return to a state of nature. And he was quite ready to charge them, on the smallest pretext, with sedition; for, so he thought,

> Plots true or false are necessary things
> To raise up commonwealths and ruin kings.[2]

To enter into any literary criticism of Dryden would be irrelevant to the purpose of this book. But upon that borderland which touches politics upon one side and literature upon the other, it perhaps may be permitted to make some observa-

[1] Introduction to *The Medal.* [2] *Absalom and Achitophel,* part i.

tions. It has been said by Lowell that English poetry is understanding aerated by imagination, and doubtless Dryden usually wrote poetry with prosaic ends in view. But everything he wrote was suffused with the golden glow of a bright and ardent fancy. He was, so to speak, a flute through which theology and politics blew into strains of music. His fancy, it has been well said, was but the feather of his pen. Political and theological satire were in many ways exactly suited to his genius, for it was, as Coleridge says, of that sort which catches fire by its own motion; his chariot wheels get hot by driving fast. And it was when pouring his invective on a Whig or a Dissenter that he urged his chariot forward with the most wild impetuosity. It is then that we are most conscious of

> the full-resounding line,
> The long majestic march and energy divine;

it is then that we most distinctly in imagination see that 'presumptuous car' drawn by

> Two coursers of ethereal race,
> With necks in thunder cloath'd and long-resounding pace.

This is why it is impossible entirely to dissociate Dryden the poet from Dryden the Tory politician. In a sense it may be said, and deplored, that he gave up to party what was meant for mankind; but it must not be forgotten that it was as a party writer that he found the greatest scope for at least one side of his genius. He must be taken all in all.

It will perhaps be convenient to anticipate a little and to say here all that it is necessary of Dryden, who passed away with the seventeenth century. Appointed Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal by Charles II., and receiving a pension—which, however, was not regularly paid—he shared in the good fortune which smiled upon the Tory party. The acknowledged head of the English literary world; the idol of those who came to Wills's coffee-house to hang upon his lips; with Halifax for an associate and Ormonde—the Barzillai of his satires—for a patron and friend: there seemed nothing to dim his prosperity nor to cloud his future prospects. Nor did the accession of James II. seem likely to disturb the even tenour of his way.

But the new King did not renew the poet's pension. It was perhaps merely a coincidence that Dryden—who up to this time had never scrupled to scoff at priests—professed himself a Roman Catholic. A change so startling requires a good deal of explanation, and it cannot truthfully be said that an adequate one has ever yet been given. The most that can be done is to give him the benefit of the doubt. But be that as it may, Dryden laid himself open to a good deal of unfavourable criticism. There is a story that when Dr. Finch, the Warden of All Souls, wished him joy of his new religion, he replied, 'Sir, you are very much mistaken; my religion is the old religion,' and that Dr. Finch retorted, 'Nay, whatever it be in itself, I am sure 'tis new to you, for within these three days you had no religion at all.'[1] The conversation serves very well to illustrate what many at any rate were thinking, if not saying. Dryden, however, was nothing if not thorough, and having made the change, he became, if possible, a greater Papist than the King, whose interests he served. His *Hind and Panther*, whatever may be thought of its theology, was the greatest literary work produced in England during the few years when James II. occupied the throne. In return he earned every favour that a grateful sovereign could bestow. He had juster views than James of the course of conduct that expediency or prudence would dictate. Writing to Etherege in 1688, he said, 'Oh that our monarch would encourage noble idleness by his own example, as he of blessed memory did before him. For my mind misgives me that he will not much advance his affairs by stirring.' Masterly inactivity might have saved James his throne.

By the time that the Revolution of 1688 occurred Dryden had become an ultra-Tory, or rather, to pursue the line of thought before suggested, he had identified himself with what he ventured to call ultra-Toryism: a body of doctrine, that is to say, which was alien to the vast majority of Tories in the country. The great Whig reaction therefore meant ruin for his own immediate future. He fell on evil days. An apostate or a renegade is never very popular with those he has deserted, and the genuine Tories had good reason to detest him. Remem-

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of S. H. Le Fleming, p. 202.

bering his *Hind and Panther*, they said that he had treated the Church of England much as the Romans had done the early Christians : he had, that is to say, dressed her up in the skin of a wild beast, and then baited her for the public amusement. The satire was exposed to such ridicule by Montagu and Prior in a very clever skit, that Dryden, so it was rumoured, shed tears of mortification ; it was hard, he said, that an old man should be so treated by those to whom he had always been civil. Neither party now had any use for Dryden. But though dismissed from his appointments, he received an equal salary from Earl Dorset, the Lord Chamberlain, who was distinguished by his noble patronage of letters. In the second Duke of Ormonde, as in the first, he found a friend and patron.[1] People said that he was querulous, but upon the whole it must be admitted that ' Old Squab,' as he was called, faced the blows of fortune with dignified composure. The old Tory protagonist must have had in his last years much matter for melancholy contemplation as he looked back upon his life. Thinking over the unkindly turns of fortune he lamented that he had not turned his talents to other, and perhaps to nobler ends. But perhaps he most of all regretted that he had ever ventured upon the treacherous sands of party combinations. For, as he bitterly remarked, ' no government ever has been, or ever can be, wherein time-servers and blockheads will not be uppermost. The persons are only changed, but the same jugglings in State, the same hypocrisy in religion, the same self-interest and mismanagement will remain for ever.' [2]

Just at the very time that Dryden was rising to the zenith of his glory another famous Tory writer passed away. If Dryden was pre-eminently the poet of the party, its philosopher was Hobbes. It was in 1679 that Thomas Hobbes's indefatigable spirit succumbed to the burden of the flesh. Born in 1588, this bold and independent thinker had lived almost through a century, and for many years had startled the world by his trenchant utterances and daring speculations. Good Friday happened to be his birthday, and it was afterwards said by his

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* viii. : The Papers of the Duke of Ormonde.

[2] Dryden's *Essays*, edited by W. P. Ker, vol. ii., *Examen Politicum*.

admirers that on the anniversary of the day that Christ went out of the world to save it, Hobbes came in it to save it also. He was sent to school at Malmesbury, his native place, and thence to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he remained for five years. Leaving the University, of which he formed no high opinion, he became tutor to William Cavendish, afterwards the second Earl of Devonshire, thus establishing a friendship with an influential family which lasted to the end. It was in company with his pupil that he first travelled on the Continent, and when the young man died an early death, the third Earl was entrusted to his care. Flying to Paris in 1640, he remained there until 1651 ; so that by his travels and his residence abroad he expanded the circle of his experience, while his intercourse with some of the most famous foreign thinkers of the day must have helped to stimulate his mind and free it from the prejudice of insularity. There was, however, one important friendship for which he had no need to go abroad. Bacon, at this time in retirement at his country-seat at Gorhambury, was quick to recognise Hobbes's great intellectual gifts, and was 'wont to have him walk with him in his delicate groves when he did meditate.' He employed him as an amanuensis to commit his thoughts to paper, for when 'a notion darted into his head, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it down.' The younger man must have had a ready apprehension of the great philosopher's ideas, for there was no one of his secretaries, so Bacon says, who understood him better. Yet the Baconian philosophy does not appear to have greatly influenced his mind, unless, indeed, it was from this source that he derived his feelings of contempt for Aristotle, the Greek philosophers and the schoolmen. This was perhaps the main result of these walks and talks at Gorhambury. Into a discussion of Hobbes's philosophical works generally it would be irrelevant to enter, and they will only be referred to so far as they have any incidental bearing upon his political conceptions.

The Restoration found him in his seventy-third year, still a tall and strong-looking man with a ruddy, fresh complexion, and a scanty stock of yellowish-grey hair clustering round his massive and intellectual brow.[1] In his youth his dark skin and sable

[1] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 279.

locks had earned him the nickname of the 'Crowe,' but with the advance of years his appearance must have altered. Aubrey says that he had a good eye, hazel-coloured, which would shine when he became eager, as though there were a bright, live coal within it; an eye through which, as through a window, his keen and penetrating mind looked upon the world around him.[1] The turn of events in 1660 did not, outwardly at least, much alter his position. He resumed his post of secretary to the Earl of Devonshire, but continued to tread his sequestered way of life, only marring its tranquillity by his acrimonious controversies with some eminent mathematicians. In one respect, indeed, the change improved his prospects. The King had not forgotten those early years he spent in Paris as an exile, when Hobbes came to teach him mathematics. It was said that the Duke of Buckingham had in introducing Hobbes to his pupil a sinister intention: that the teacher, that is to say, might instil into his mind his unorthodox opinions in theology and politics. Of this assertion there is no certain proof; but it is evident that in Hobbes's philosophy Charles found much that was congenial to his own intellectual temperament. An able man himself, there was one thing which he could not tolerate in others, and that was dulness. Now Hobbes was never dull, and at Court he was welcome for his wit. The King used to say, 'There comes the Bear to be baited,' because, says Aubrey, 'the courtiers were wont to bait him, but he would make his part good, and feared none of them. . . . He was marvellous happy and ready in his replies, and that without rancour (except provoked).[2] The Hobbist philosophy, moreover, might be so interpreted that it appeared to give its sanction to that hedonistic crypto-Catholicism which was the fashionable creed. Charles at any rate not only hung his old tutor's portrait in his room, but conferred upon him a pension of a hundred pounds a year. The Royal favour was by no means without its value to a writer who had raised a host of enemies by his novel and unpalatable doctrines. His was a singular position. Here was a person who had never filled even a subordinate place in public life, whose published works were for the most part

[1] Aubrey's *Brief Lives* (Clark's Edition) vol. i. p. 328.
[2] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 290.

abstruse and written in Latin, yet who was, it is scarcely too much to say, almost the most notorious man in England. That position he achieved mainly by the influence of a single book, his *Leviathan*. In a time of great religious and political agitation it was exactly suited to provoke, and did provoke, the most profound emotions. That will be evident from a brief consideration of what was said and thought about its author.

Of all the books published in the English language in the seventeenth century there was none perhaps which excited so much controversy as the *Leviathan*; nor, it may be added, was there any that brought so much odium on its author. Everybody with any serious intellectual interests read it, and of those who did not a few were moved to answer it. Burnet, without mincing matters, styled it a 'very wicked book,' and after a brief description of its purport, he observed that its notions came to spread much, and that the novelty and boldness of them set many on reading them.[1] A writer of a contemporary pamphlet describes a town wit as taking his gospel from the Apostle of Malmesbury, and it is certain that the doctrines of the *Leviathan* were eagerly absorbed. Copies of the book were in considerable demand. Pepys records how he went to his booksellers for the *Leviathan*, 'which is now mightily called for.'[2] It is significant that nothing of Hobbes's composition with any political or religious reference was ever allowed to be printed in England for the remainder of his life, and that even to produce a Latin edition of his works he had to resort to Amsterdam. But, as might have been expected, the more the book was banned, the more attention it excited. Its influence was enormous. 'Hobbist' or 'Hobbism' became regular terms to indicate a sceptic or free-thought of any kind. Dryden rather strangely compared the sway of Hobbes with that exercised by Lucretius. 'From his time to our own,' he writes, 'I know none so like him, as our poet and philosopher of Malmesbury. This is that perpetual dictatorship, which is exercised by Lucretius.' The Latin poet was, he thought, more sincere than 'our Hobbes, who could not but be convinced or at least doubt, of some eternal truths, which he had opposed.'[3] The dictatorship,

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 341. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.
[3] Dryden's *Essays*, edited by W. P. Ker, vol. i., Preface to 'Sylvæ.'

however, was not allowed to prevail without a protest. Baxter, for instance, had the book much in view when he wrote his *Holy Commonwealth*. Dr. John North, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was one of those who designed to write an elaborate refutation, though he did not live to do it. The most interesting work of this kind was that by Clarendon, who, when the shadows deepened in the evening of his life, felt called upon to perform what he doubtless thought a public service to his country. No one was more generous than Clarendon in his recognition of the merits of the book, the doctrines of which he set out to refute. He admits its novelty and freshness, and that, though 'too much inclined to paradox, it contained much good learning of all kinds, politely extracted and very wittily and cunningly digested in a very commendable method, and in a vigorous and pleasant style, which hath prevailed over too many to swallow many new tenets as maxims without chewing.' Yet he did not hesitate to describe its doctrine as pernicious to the sovereign power of kings and destructive to the affection and allegiance of subjects.[1] It is of some interest to note that Sir Robert Filmer, who with Hobbes had much in common, expressed his dissent from some of the most important conclusions which the *Leviathan* contains. 'With no small content,' he said, 'I read Mr. Hobbes's book *De Cive* and his *Leviathan*. I consent with him about the rights of exercising government, but I cannot agree to his means of acquiring it.'[2]

That the doctrines propounded by Hobbes were anathema to many excellent and serious-minded persons is beyond question. Evelyn, who knew him well, tells us that the excellent Robert Boyle had feelings of antipathy for but one person in the world, and that was Hobbes, 'whose hand was against everybody, and admired nothing but his own.'[3] There is a story that Hobbes visited Selden when he was dying, and that, finding a minister of religion at his door, he somewhat angrily inquired, 'What! will you that wrote like a man die like a woman?' The minister, so it is said, was not admitted. If the story is true, it is perhaps not surprising that Selden had once in the fulness of his powers

[1] *A Brief View and Survey of the 'Leviathan.'*
[2] *Observations on Hobbes's 'Leviathan.'*
[3] Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence.*

'rated' Hobbes out of the room; so angry was he with the religious opinions which his visitor had, no doubt with his usual tone of self-assertiveness, expressed. Dr. Fell, the celebrated Dean of Christ Church, was not the kind of man to conceal his antipathies, and certainly in Hobbes's case he was at no pains to do so. He styled him '*irritabile illud et vanissimum animal Malmesburiense*,' and his *Leviathan* a *librum monstrosissimum*.[1] Abhorrence of Hobbism, in short, became a tradition which lasted well into the eighteenth century. Sir Edward Seymour on one occasion accused Somers in the House of Commons of being a Hobbist in religion; Bentley, in his *Boyle Lectures*, ascribed the decline of morality to the philosophy of Hobbes, of which, he said, 'the taverns and coffee-houses, nay, Westminster Hall and the very churches were full';[2] while Sacheverell in one of his famous sermons classed Hobbes and Spinoza together as '*atheistical monsters*.' There is a story told of Tillotson, which is of considerable interest as throwing light upon the position held by Hobbes in contemporary opinion. As one of the royal chaplains the future archbishop had preached before the King a vigorous sermon on the duty of upholding the established religion. According to one version a courtier remarked to the King, 'Sir, sir, do you hear Mr. Hobbes in the pulpit?' Another version tells us that the King slept throughout the sermon, and that at the end of it a courtier remarked to him, ''Tis pity your Majesty slept, for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life.' 'Ods fish,' replied the King, 'he shall print it then!'[3] Hobbes's theology, in short, was peculiarly offensive to the clergy, who never missed an opportunity of denouncing it. As Warburton afterwards put it, 'every young church-militant would try his arms by thundering on Hobbes's steel cap.' Evelyn, for instance, notes, how in 1679 he heard Dr. Pierce, the Dean of Salisbury, preach against the 'pernicious doctrines of Mr. Hobbes.' Even the Erastian Bishop Parker had nothing but condemnation for the principles of 'one proud and haughty philosopher,' and ridicule for the 'little mushrome

[1] Sir L. Stephen's *Hobbes*, p. 4.

[2] Hutton's *The English Church* (from the Accession of Charles I. to the death Anne), p. 325.

[3] Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 60–63, 296.

wits,' who swallowed the 'Malmesbury philosophy, without any chewing or consideration.'[1] Very curious, too, was the public recantation made by one Daniel Scargill in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. This egregious person confessed that he had 'gloried to be a Hobbist and an Atheist,' and in solemn form disclaimed and renounced the execrable position that there is a desirable glory in being, and being reputed an Atheist, which he implied when he gloried in being 'a Hobbist and an Atheist.'[2]

A thinker, whom the devout detested, the Universities feared, and in whom all the monarchists and absolutists found the most powerful of allies, occupied a unique and extraordinary position. Hobbes's fundamental principles were exactly those in which believers in a system of strong and concentrated government would delight, for they were principles that gave them precisely the foundation that they wanted to justify their practice. So thorough was his absolutism that Hallam excluded him from the Tories altogether, upon the ground that his political theories were inconsistent with the maintenance of the constitution. Perhaps they would have been if they had been carried out in concrete form; but it is scarcely possible to withhold the name of Tory from one who held most of the Tory principles in a very decided form. If Hobbes had entered Parliament, it is certain that he would never have taken his seat among the Whigs; he would have been a follower of Arlington, of Clifford, and of Danby. What, then, it may be pertinently asked, were the precise opinions that Hobbes enunciated with such persuasive force?

In some intellectual qualities Hobbes diverged widely from the commonplace Tory type of mind. He was quite impatient of, and had no reverence for authority in the realm of speculative thought. A more independent thinker never lived, nor one who valued his own opinions more. He used to say that if he had read as much as other men, he would have been as ignorant as other men; and so great was his faith in his own philosophy that he wished that all books but his own might be banished from the world. He longed for a kind of *tabula rasa* of the human mind upon which his principles might be indelibly

[1] Parker's *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie.*

[2] Somers *Tracts*, vol. i., 'The Recantation of Daniel Scargill.'

imprinted. 'I found him,' wrote Hooke to Robert Boyle, 'to lard and seal every asseveration with a round oath, to undervalue all other men's opinion's and judgments, to defend to the utmost what he had asserted, though never so absurd, to have a high conceit of his own abilities and performances, though never so absurd and pitiful.'[1] He wrote in the same manner as he talked; his pages resound with the hammer-blows of his affirmatives. Again, unlike the average Tory, he did not approach scientific questions with a mind warped by the traditional theological prepossessions; though it is true he never made any serious study of natural phenomena. Even upon such a subject as witchcraft he halted between two opinions, saying that though he could not 'rationally believe' in it, he could not deny it. His mind, so far as he ventured upon the domain of physical science at all, was quite free from the prejudice that religion is often too apt to inspire. His saying that 'reason is the pace, increase of science the way, and the benefit of mankind the end,' is quite admirable; while his remark that the axioms of geometry are only admitted to be true because there is nobody interested in proving them to be false, showed an acute apprehension of one of the obstacles that the scientific inquirer is sure to have to meet and overcome. But it was rather the sphere of the mental, the moral and political sciences which Hobbes made it his peculiar business to explore; and never did navigator set his sails into unknown seas with greater intrepidity. There was no *mare clausum* known to Hobbes. Of his ultimate principles, his *Philosophia Prima*, to use a Baconian term, it would be irrelevant to speak. Suffice it to say that his philosophy belonged to the school of the sensationalists. 'The original of all thoughts of men,' he said, 'is that which we call sense; for there is no conception in a man's mind which hath not at first, totally or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense.' Never soaring far above the world of reality, he kept his eye steadily upon the concrete and the practical; he could not breathe for long the thin air of abstractions. He sought to fly, as Bacon would say, to the secrets of the Deity upon the waxen wings of sense. The really important part of Hobbes's teaching is, therefore, that which was immediately related to the problems of

[1] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 289.

government and society which confronted him. At the very beginning he took a new departure. Rejecting the commonly-received hypothesis of the origin of society in a state of nature, which in its simplicity was thought to be a kind of golden age, he held rather that such a state was in reality a state of war. Regarding the 'noble savage' as a mythical creation, he described the state of nature as 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.' His proposition should perhaps be taken not so much as an historical account of what he thought had actually occurred, as a description of the sort of life he imagined that man would live in a non-political state. But man is by nature a ζῶον πολιτικόν, and from a state of anarchy Hobbes saw but one method of escape; and that was through a compact by which the governed should submit themselves to the unlimited domination of a government. Such a government, indeed, speaking from the abstract point of view, might be either that of a monarch or of an assembly; but for practical reasons of expediency he leaned strongly to a monarchy. And by monarchy he meant that which existed not so much *de jure* as *de facto*—a distinction which had important consequences upon his own individual life, for it was the suspicion that his *Leviathan* was intended to support the rule of Oliver Cromwell that brought Hobbes into disfavour with the exiled King, and caused the author's flight from Paris back to England.

Governmental absolutism was the foundation of Hobbes's political superstructure; and the notion, developed as it was by him, was peculiarly acceptable to rulers with absolutist views. A State he defined as 'one person, of whose acts a great multitude by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves the author'; or, again, as 'but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended.' This conception of the State as a unity was in itself dear to Tory minds. But how was this unity to be achieved? By conferring, he answers, 'all power and strength upon one man or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices unto one will; which is, as much to say, to appoint one man or assembly of men to bear their person. . . . This is the generation of that great Leviathan or, rather, to speak more reverently of that

mortal God, to which we owe under the immortal God our peace and defence.' But an assembly of men, though the sovereign power placed in it may be 'as great as possibly men can be imagined to make it,' is upon practical grounds an inferior form of government to a monarchy. For 'where the public and private interests are most closely united, there is the public most advanced and in monarchy the private interest is the same with the public.' And, moreover, whereas 'the favourites of monarchs are few, and they have none else to advance but their own kindred, the favourites of an assembly are many, and the kindred much more numerous than any monarch.' Besides, 'a democracy is no more than an aristocracy of orators interrupted sometimes with the temporary monarchy of one orator'; and freedom is only political power 'divided into small fragments.' But a monarchy, to be of any avail, must be absolute, not mixed, for mixed monarchy is nothing else but pure anarchy. It was the delusion of Charles I.'s councillors that the government of England was a 'mixed' monarchy that caused the Civil War; and 'if there had not first been an opinion received of the greatest part of England that these powers were divided between the King and the Lords and the Commons the people had never been divided into this Civil War; first between those that disagreed in politics, and after between the Dissenters about the liberty of religion.' Absolute monarchy, he concludes, is the best form of government; and from this certain consequences follow. They, for instance, who are subject to a monarch, 'cannot without his leave cast off monarchy.' Again, 'there can happen no breach of covenant on the part of the sovereign . . . . he which is made sovereign maketh no covenant with his subjects beforehand . . . whatsoever he doth, it can be no injury to any of his subjects. . . . No man that hath sovereign power can justly be put to death, or otherwise in any manner by his subjects punished. For seeing every subject is author of the actions of his sovereign, he punisheth another for the actions committed by himself.' 'All judicature,' too, 'belongs to him'; the legislative power is his only; the naming of magistrates and other officers belongs to him; and 'whatsoever he doth is unpunishable.' A government of this kind may well be thought a tyranny, but in that Hobbes does not

see anything to object to even if it were so; for the name of tyranny signified nothing more nor less than the name of sovereignty. What more from Hobbes could an absolutist ask? No wonder that Charles II. found in Hobbes a man after his own heart, or that French readers discovered in the *Leviathan* an elaborated amplification of the dictum—*l'état c'est moi.* De Cominges, the French Ambassador at St. James's, called him a *bonhomme*, an '*assertor regum*,' and worthy to be enrolled among the servants of Louis XIV., to whom he recommended him for a pension.[1] In France, indeed, the influence of Hobbes was very great. His early work, *De Cive*, which was really the first draft of the *Leviathan*, was translated into French in 1649 and again in 1660, with a dedication to Louis XIV.; the translator, Bonneau, placing the elements of Hobbes's philosophy on the same footing with the elements of Euclid, and suggesting that they should officially be made a subject of instruction for young Frenchmen.[2] That Hobbes himself believed that his political philosophy was essentially in the interests of kingship is clear enough; for one of the first things he did after the publication of his *Leviathan* was to present a copy of it—'engrossed in vellum in a marvellous fair hand'—to Charles II. At the Restoration, at any rate, that monarch could find nothing but satisfaction in a book which, in effect, was an elaborate argument for accepting the *de facto* form of government.

The genuine Tory character of Hobbes's temperament becomes manifest from the opinions he expressed upon some subsidiary points. He had the same suspicion of great towns which was felt by all Tory rulers, and of corporations, which he compared with many lesser commonwealths in the bowels of the greater, like worms in the entrails of a natural man. He had the same dread of a standing army, and was much impressed with the necessity of the sovereign power keeping it well within control; for, as he happily put it, 'they that keep an army and cannot master it must be subject to it as much as he that keeps a lion in his house.' Again, though he never attempted to systematise his thoughts upon the duties of government and the sphere of

[1] *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, by J. J. Jusserand, p. 60.

[2] *L'Education Politique de Louis XIV.*, par G. Lacour-Gayet, pp. 379–385.

legislation, it is evident that the idea of *laissez-faire* would have been alien to his scheme. Laws he compared with hedges 'set not to stop travellers, but to keep them in the way.' What exactly were the functions which a government could rightly undertake he does not tell us, though its object, he admits, is not only a bare preservation, but also 'all other contentments of life,' a proposition which seems to throw the door open to socialism or collectivism. It is probable that he supposed that the multitude required a good deal of guidance and control, 'for all men,' he thought, 'are by nature provided of notable multiplying glasses, that is their passions and self-love, through which every little payment appeareth a great grievance; but are destitute of those prospective glasses, namely moral and civil science, to see afar off the miseries that hang over them, and cannot without such payments be avoided.' Yet apparently, of the capacity of governments to govern he did not take a sanguine view.' 'The skill,' he writes, 'of making and maintaining commonwealths, consisteth in certain rules as doth arithmetic and geometry; not, as tennis play, in practice only; which rules neither poor men have the leisure, nor men that have had the leisure have hitherto had the curiosity to find out.' If that be so, there is not much hope for progressive amelioration.

If Hobbes's political principles were those of unmitigated absolutism, even more so were those that he enunciated on such topics as religion, morals, and the relations of Church and State. His ecclesiastical polity might perhaps be best described as Erastianism run mad. The thorough Church-and-State-men, who were the highest of high Tories, were in no small degree perplexed by the adherence of an ally who, in the same breath, shocked their dearest sentiments and supported their contentions in ecclesiastical affairs. In order to appreciate their difficulties, Hobbes's religious professions must be examined very briefly. Upon no other topic did he give vent to utterances so unconventional and striking.

The origin, or what he calls the 'seed,' of religion he discovers in two causes. One lies in man's inquisitiveness or desire to trace back the chain of cause and effect to a 'first and eternal cause of all things, which men mean by the name of God.' For, 'by the visible things in this world and their admirable order a

man may conceive there is a cause of them, which men call God, and yet not have an idea or image of him in his mind; and accordingly the name of God is used not to make us conceive him, for he is uncomprehensible, and his greatness and power are inconceivable, but that we may honour him.' That sounds very like agnosticism. Nor is this impression in any way removed when we read that the second 'seed' of religion is nothing less than the fears of the ignorant. 'From this ignorance,' he writes, 'of how to distinguish dreams and other strong fancies from vision and sense did arise the greatest part of the religion of the Gentiles in past time.' And so in one of his most remarkable apophthegms he distinguishes the true religion from the false—'the fear of power invisible feigned by the mind or imagined from tales publiquely allowed is religion, not allowed, superstition.' That is a sufficiently startling proposition; but this master of epigrammatic statement had another scarcely less so: 'It is with the mysteries of religion, as with wholesome pills for the sick, which, swallowed whole, have virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up without effect.' That seems to close the door upon all attempts to frame a system of rational theology. It only remained for him, in order to complete the shocks he administered to the orthodox, to express doubts about the future life. All that men can say about it is, he thought, that it is only a belief grounded upon other men's saying that they know it supernaturally, or that they know those that knew them that knew others that knew it supernaturally. *Non tali auxilio* might well be the cry of the clergy.

Nevertheless, theology apart, there was much in Hobbes's ecclesiastical doctrines that was very acceptable to those Churchmen who acted as though they thought that the whole duty of man lay in hunting out Dissenters. He had, it is true, no patience for what he called 'squabblings about free-will and standing upon punctilios concerning the service book and its rubrics'; and he recognised that it was not so much points necessary to salvation as questions about authority and power, which had caused so much dispute and trouble in the world. It was directly to the seduction of the people by sectaries, and indirectly to the private interpretation of Scripture, that he mainly ascribed the breaking-out of the Civil War in England.

To such an exercise of private judgement he was strenuously opposed. 'In the well governing of opinions,' he believed, 'consisteth the well governing of men's actions.' Here was a maxim that could not fail to be acceptable to persons who lived in a world of chimeras of heresy and schism. He had a short way for all religious controversialists; 'for religion,' he laid down, 'admits no controversy. It is a law of the kingdom, and ought not to be disputed.' Hobbes was not the man to temporise in forming his conclusions, and with characteristic boldness he travelled to his goal. 'Temporal and spiritual authority,' he asserted, 'are but two words brought into the world to make men see double, and mistake their lawful sovereign. . . . There is, therefore, no other government in this life, neither of State, nor religion, but temporal. . . . And that governor must be one; or else there must needs follow faction and Civil war to the commonwealth, between the church and state.' A church he defined as 'a company of men professing the Christian religion, united in the person of one sovereign, at whose command they ought to assemble.' An independent church would be dangerous, for the spiritual or 'ghostly' authority, as he calls it, 'though it stand in the darkness of schools distinctions, and hard words, yet because the fear of darkness and ghosts is greater than other fears, cannot want a party sufficient to trouble, and sometimes to destroy a Commonwealth.' Therefore, 'it is annexed to the sovereignty, to be judge of what opinions and doctrines are averse and what conducing to peace . . . it belongeth therefore to him that hath the sovereign power, to be judge, or constitute all judges of opinions and doctrines as a thing necessary to peace; thereby to prevent discord and civil war.' His Erastianism stands forward naked and unashamed, 'for,' he affirms, 'both church and state are the same men,' and 'a church and a commonwealth of Christian people are the same thing.' If Hobbes had stopped here, even the spiritually-minded Tories might have welcomed so strong-fisted an ally. For if anybody ever was a Tory in religion, Hobbes was certainly that man. That the Dissenters should have held the doctrine of the Trinity, he said, he did not wonder, but that the Episcopalians should have entertained it, he confessed, did certainly surprise him. A Louis the Fourteenth in Heaven—that or something like it—seems to

have been his conception of the Deity. But he never shrank from pushing his thoughts to their logical conclusions. And so, he went on to affirm, a Christian king has authority 'not only to preach, which perhaps no man will deny, but also to baptise and to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God's service.' That in itself was a startling proposition; no less so was the logical deduction from the premise that the sovereign was the sole judge of what opinions should be permitted to be held. In that case what becomes of the sanctions of morality? Hobbes answers plainly that 'nothing is in itself either good or bad.' The dilemma—what was a Christiam man to do when the sovereign was an infidel?—presented no difficulty whatever to his mind. He again answered plainly that it was the Christian's duty to obey, though he made a reservation which, to an earnest believer, must have been peculiarly repugnant. 'For their faith,' he argued, 'it is internal and invisible, they have the license that Naaman had, and need not put themselves into danger for it.' It is upon the whole not to be wondered at that when the House of Commons in 1666, affecting to see the signs of divine displeasure in the calamities of the plague and the great fire, had a Bill before it for the suppression of atheism and profaneness, special attention was directed to the book of Mr. Hobbes. To the author, who was perfectly aware that the writ *de heretico comburendo* might still be taken out, the incident was highly disconcerting; and he is said to have shown more than his usual assiduity in his attendances at church. So great, indeed, was his anxiety that he sat down and wrote his *An Historical Narration concerning Heresy and the Punishment thereof*, in order to vindicate his doctrine and to demonstrate that in England there was no existing body invested with any legal power to punish heresy. It is remarkable that Hobbes, who claimed that there was nothing in his *Leviathan* that had not been preached by high divines, who himself confessed and took the Sacrament, should not have been conscious of his own inconsistency. His description of Chillingworth might almost have been intended for himself: 'But my God, he is like some lusty fighters that will give a damnable back blow now and then on their own party.' [1]

[1] Sir L. Stephen's *Hobbes*, p. 25. Cp. Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies* (Second Series), ch. ii., for some interesting remarks on Hobbes's religious views.

Amid the hurly-burly of the storm which he had himself evoked, Hobbes—apart from the incident just referred to—passed his life in fair tranquillity. Thanks to the generosity of his old friends and patrons, he found at Chatsworth and Hardwick the peace and tranquillity needed for his habits of strenuous cogitation, and it was at Hardwick that he passed quietly away. Among the epitaphs suggested for his tomb the one with which Hobbes is said to have been most pleased was that which ran as follows :

THIS IS THE TRUE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE.

To call him Hobbes the true Philosopher would be to place him above all other thinkers without sufficient warrant. Nevertheless, with all his deficiencies, he must ever remain a writer of great interest to Englishmen generally, and to Tories in particular. Both his faults and his virtues were typically English. An eminent French critic has described an Englishman as 'L'homme de Hobbes' ;[1] and though the saying at first sight seems far-fetched, it contains no small element of truth. Uncontemplative, impatient of abstractions, of niceties of thought, and the regimen of logic, the Englishman presses on to results and is careless of anomalies. The distinguishing note of his character is energy, activity as an end in itself and effort for its own sake ; and it is by this single quality, this passion of energetic action, that the course of our national history is most easily explained. Now there was a robustness in the philosophy of Hobbes which sprang from the natural temperament and was racy of the soil. In saying that the over-mastering purpose in man 'is a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death,' and in defining happiness as 'a continual progress of the desire from one object to another,' he was an Englishman all over. The English, generally speaking, have little sympathy with theorists, and are apt to display the same disdain of philosophy that the Romans formerly exhibited. The philosophy of Hobbes was never far removed from the actualities of life ; it had its root in, and in turn reacted upon, the pressing questions which agitated contemporary Englishmen. It never soared far into the empyrean of abstractions.

[1] E. Boutmey's *Essai d'une Psychologie Politique du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle.*

This is not the place to attempt to form an estimate of Hobbes's place in literature; it must be enough to say that perhaps no English writer since Bacon has succeeded in clothing so much pregnancy of meaning with such felicity of phrase. Some of his epigrams sparkle like jewels upon the outstretched forefinger of time. Such, for example, are his sayings that 'words are wise men's counters; they do but reckon by them; but they are the money of fools'; or that the Papacy is 'no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crossed upon the grave thereof'; or that laughter is 'a sudden glory' arising from 'a sudden conception of some eminence in ourselves,' by comparison with our own former infirmity or that of other persons; or that 'truth be a spark, whereunto objections are like bellows.' But of his place in philosophy something may here properly be said. Of no political philosopher can it more truly be said than of Hobbes that he was the creature of his time. Influenced profoundly by circumstances he was led to lay exaggerated emphasis upon the fundamental conditions of order in society. He had not witnessed the agonies of the Civil War for nothing, and the opposite impressions received from a comparison of the salutary repose under an absolute monarchy in France, and of the distractions arising from a limited monarchy in England, were deeply imprinted on his mind. He had seen authority fatally weakened, and the feelings of loyalty to government and of reverence for order seriously impaired at a time when the elements of national stability had to a large extent broken down. Any political thinker was, therefore, almost of necessity a Tory. In the same way the rush of sectarianism induced exaggerated notions about the governmental duty to direct and control national opinion. Of theological sciolism he had seen the worst results, and by a natural rebound he tended to the opposite extreme. As an advocate of absolutism he was a Tory of the Tories, and if his religious opinions offended many Churchmen, they were more than satisfied with his denial of the Nonconformists' claim to exercise the right of private judgement. The *Leviathan*, in short, was an attempt to bolster up by argument the mass of conservative sentiment which custom and authority had proved insufficient to sustain. It was a strange irony of fate that the Utilitarian

Radicals over a century later should have used the same kind of reasoning in support of their contentions for a democratic form of government. The whirligig of time is fertile in surprises.

The rejection of the Exclusion Bill proved to be the turning point in the good fortune of the Whigs, and from that moment the favouring tide began to ebb. Their zeal had outrun their discretion, and in the methods which they adopted to get the Bill through they greatly overstepped the mark. It is beyond question that they manipulated the so-called Popish plot in the most unscrupulous manner to further their own ends. Scarcely any responsible Whig believed that a serious plot existed, yet they did not hesitate to play on the passions of the multitude; the popular hatred of Popery was too serviceable a card to be lightly thrown away. The reaction came, as in time it was bound to do, and after much innocent blood had flowed, it gradually dawned upon the mind of the people that they had been the dupes of their own fears. Anger gave way to pity and disgust. The condemnation of Stafford, who was impeached by the Commons, was so flagrant a barbarity, that it could not fail to make a great impression. Even Lord Nottingham, who presided at the trial, so strained the law that Lord Guilford said that he was 'under the grossest error in common justice that ever was known.' And when the Whigs affected to be angry because the King resolved to remit the most revolting portions of the sentence, it became clear that their political partisanship had degenerated into rancour. The Tories began to reflect that the dangers which they apprehended from a Popish succession were not so imminent as those they dreaded from the fanaticism of the clamouring Nonconformists; and when the King issued a declaration—which he ordered to be read in all the churches—affirming his attachment to the Protestant religion and his love of frequent parliaments, he chose a happy moment to give the Tories just the one encouragement that they wanted. It is a remarkable fact that at the very time when a Whig majority was dominating the House of Commons, a wonderful revival of Toryism began to spread throughout the country. The King's declaration was received with acclamations of delight. The addresses to the Throne which poured in, were, says Burnet, some of them 'very high panegyrics, in which the King's person

and government were much magnified. Many of those who brought these up were knighted upon it, and all were well treated at Court. Many zealous healths were drunk among them; and in their cups the old valour and the swaggerings of the Cavaliers seemed to be revived.' [1] A more sudden and remarkable revulsion of feeling has perhaps never occurred in the history of English party government. There was nothing that the King had done to deserve the renewed demonstrations of that loyalty which he had so justly forfeited, and, indeed, if the whole truth had been known, he might have forfeited for ever. Yet henceforth to the end of his reign he governed almost as he pleased. The extravagant follies of the Whigs were the salvation of the Tories. The reaction manifested in a very striking manner the depth and solidity of the mass of conservative feeling which was lying dormant in the country.

'The tempers of men are much altered to what they were within this twelve month, most now seeming Tories.' [2] That was the deliberate statement of Narcissus Luttrell, writing of the state of affairs at the close of the year 1682. No one, indeed, who reads the history of England from that year to the close of the reign of Charles II. in 1685, can fail to see that the forces of Toryism were again rapidly rising to the flood. Of that movement the accompanying circumstances were only too often a painful witness. The persecution of Dissenters was resumed with a zest that was sharpened by the remembrance of what the Whigs intended to have done, if they only had had the power. The majesty of the law itself was turned into an engine of oppression, juries becoming, as Burnet says, 'the shame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion.' [3] If a grave charge could not be brought, a trivial one was made to do as well. The anger of the Government fell with concentrated warmth upon those who had ventured to oppose the Tory interest in the City, or had, on behalf of the Corporation, presented addresses of petition. Sir Patience Ward, who had been Lord Mayor in 1680, was indicted for perjury in a suit brought by the Duke of York, and fled to Holland; while Thomas Papillon, who had stood in

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 283.
[2] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. i. p. 252.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 348.

the Whig interest as a candidate for the shrievalty, was cast in damages in the infamous sum of ten thousand pounds for an alleged false imprisonment. But perhaps the worst case was that of Henry Cornish, who had not only been a petitioner, but had had the audacity to stand as the Whig candidate for the Mayoralty in opposition to the Court. He was charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot and convicted before Jeffreys. When a well known London minister, Benjamin Calamy, pleaded with the judge to spare the prisoner's life, he got the rough reply, 'A mine of gold as deep as the Monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames on the top of it could not save him.' Nothing apparently could satiate the Chief Justice's appetite for revenge upon the Whigs.

It was said of Hobbes by Edmund Calamy that 'he made the King's conscience the standard for the consciences of all his subjects, just as the great clock rules all the lesser clocks in the town.'[1] It did, indeed, almost appear as though the Tories were resolved, if not to mould the national conscience, at all events to crush out any outward manifestation of an opposite order of ideas. The discoveries of the so-called Rye House Plot revealed the hopelessness of any such attempt. What the Popish Plot had been to the Papists, the Rye House Plot was to the Whigs. In both cases there was just enough foundation to make it true to say that a conspiracy existed, and in both cases the party whose interest it was to prove the allegation true enormously magnified the facts. If the Whigs used the Popish Plot to embarrass their opponents, the Tories repaid them back with interest. Into the details of the Rye House Plot conspiracy it would be irrelevant to enter; it must be enough to say that the alleged complicity of the Whig leaders in the affair brought ruin on their cause. Shaftesbury had already fled to Holland, where he quickly sank under the accumulated weight of sickness and anxiety. Essex died by his own hand in the Tower. Of those who were actually brought to trial the most distinguished were Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney, and in all the annals of Toryism more shameful deeds were never perpetrated than the doing to death under the forms of law of these

[1] Calamy's *An Historical Account of My Own Life*, edited by J. T. Rutt, p. 95.

unhappy men. With packed juries and a subservient bench of judges, their fate from the first was never doubtful. The protestations of innocence of the victims seem even now in plangent tones to come sounding down the centuries. Lord William Russell had done and said some foolish and intemperate things, but nothing to justify Charles II.'s implacability. 'If I do not take his life, he will soon have mine'; such was the King's plea, but it was almost impossible to believe that it was seriously intended. The Duke of York, writing to the Duke of Queensberry an account of Lord William's execution, said, 'he behaved himself like a stout man, but not like a good Christian: said little, but left a most seditious paper signed by himself.' The Duke of York's conception of dying 'like a good Christian' was that Lord William Russell should have professed extreme Tory principles. His spiritual advisers—amongst whom was Tillotson—conjured him to declare his belief that 'the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority,' and that it was the doctrine of the Church that it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King. But Lord William refused to whittle away his principles, and Toryism enjoyed a momentary triumph. The trial of Algernon Sydney was just as infamous. When he protested that he had been condemned to death for 'a righteous cause,' Jeffreys told him that what he thought 'a righteous cause' the law called high treason; but then anything was treason, if Jeffreys thought fit to make it so. Sydney died, wrote the Duke of York, 'stoutly and like a true republican.' On the very day on which Lord William Russell's head fell on the block in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the University of Oxford outdid all its previous manifestations of Toryism by its famous *Judgement and Decree.*

The mere intent to pass the Exclusion Bill had already awakened into activity a great mass of dormant Tory feeling. Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, which had long lain in manuscript, was printed and published, and his arguments for the divine right of kings formed the theme of sermons in innumerable pulpits. It remained only for the Oxford graduates to reach the high-water mark of Toryism by formally condemning what they were pleased to describe as certain pernicious

books and doctrines, 'destructive to the persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society.' After thanking God, whose Providence had brought it to pass that 'the breath of our nostrils and anointed of the Lord is not taken in the pit which was prepared for him,' the Decree went on to declare that certain propositions, twenty-seven in number, were false, seditious, impious, and most of them to be also heretical and blasphemous, infamous to Christian religion and destructive of all government in Church and State. Amongst the propositions thus stigmatised were the following, that all civil authority is derived originally from the people; that there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects, and that, if he performs not his duty, they are discharged from theirs; that the sovereignty of England is in three estates—namely, the King, Lords, and Commons, the King having but co-ordinate power, and being liable to be over-ruled by the other two; that self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature and supersedes all other obligations; that birthright and proximity of blood give no title to rule or to government; that possession and strength give a right to govern, and success in a cause or an enterprise proclaim it to be lawful and just; that the state of nature is a state of war; that there lies no obligation upon Christians to obey passively when the prince commands anything against the laws, and that the primitive Christians chose rather to die than to resist, because Christianity was not settled by the laws of the Empire; that oaths are unlawful; that the powers of this world are usurpations upon the prerogative of Jesus Christ, and that it is the duty of God's people to destroy them, in order to the setting of Christ upon his throne; and that a Presbyterian form of government is the sceptre of Christ's Kingdom, to which kings are subjects. The decree then interdicted all members of the University from reading books teaching any of the condemned propositions, and ordered a number of books, the works of nineteen authors, to be publicly burned. The sweep of the net was very ample. The doctrines of the Fifth Monarchy men and the Quakers were jostled together with selections from the writings of Milton, Baxter, Owen, and Samuel Johnson; and by one of the strangest ironies of fate, the great apostle of absolutism, Hobbes, was

placed in the same galley with the very persons whose teaching he abhorred. Finally upon all instructors of the young, the paramount duty was inculcated of submission clear, absolute, and without any exception or order of men. This unqualified dogma was declared to be 'the badge and character' of the Church of England.[1] The clergy, least of all men, however, required to be reminded of their duty, if they in any way resembled one Mr. Thompson, a clergyman of Bristol, who in 1680 preached a sermon so extraordinary that it was made a subject of inquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons. This intemperate zealot had declared from his pulpit that the Presbyterians were 'such persons that the very devil blushed at them'; that they were 'worse and far more intolerable than either Priests or Jesuits'; and had even dared to attack the Reformation, describing Queen Elizabeth as 'the worst of women, the most lewd and infamous of women.'[2] With the Church and the Universities imbued with the temper revealed in such decrees and declarations, Charles might well be excused for thinking that he had the country at his back and that he might govern very nearly as he pleased.

The second general election of 1681 resulted again in a Whig majority, and it appeared as though the Whigs would have their way. But the unexpected happened. Fearing the political temper of the metropolis, the King summoned the parliament to meet at Oxford, where he could rely on support of a solid Tory phalanx. On the eighth day of the session the parliament—on this account nicknamed the Jewish—was suddenly dissolved. It was the last that Charles II., in defiance of constitutional law, summoned for the remainder of his reign. It is a remarkable fact that, although Whig majorities were returned to the House of Commons three times during the years 1678 to 1681, the arbitrary conduct of the King seems not to have aroused any popular indignation. On the contrary he was carried by the wave of reaction to a position of unprecedented power—an irrefragable testimony to the strength of the latent Tory forces in the country. The Exclusion Bill and the Rye

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii.: 'The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford'; Cooke's *History of Parties*, vol. i. p. 346 *seq.*

[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. viii. p. 212.

House Plot together so frightened the Tories, who had no wish to see a repetition of 1649, that they gladly acquiesced in an absolutist regime.

The inception of Sir William Temple's Privy Council scheme gave the King an opportunity of forming a Whig administration in harmony with the majority of the House of Commons, and to all outward appearance at any rate, he determined to make use of it. Several of the leaders of the country party were admitted. Shaftesbury was made President, the Earl of Essex was First Commissioner of the Treasury, and together with Halifax and Sunderland, Lord William Russell was admitted to a place. It was, however, an impracticable scheme, and this semblance of a Whig ministry quickly vanished from the stage. Shaftesbury declined to attend the meetings of the Council, Essex resigned, and Lord William Russell and other Whigs asked leave to retire. Henceforward Charles formed his ministries almost exclusively of Tories. Of the new men, who thus found their opportunity for coming to the front, the most prominent was Laurence Hyde, soon to become the Earl of Rochester.

As the second son of the Earl of Clarendon, Laurence Hyde was born in the charmed circle of the great governing families of England. Of good ability, comely in figure and well educated, the avenue to high place lay open to him from the very first. At the Restoration he was successively elected member for the University of Oxford, sent on a special embassy to congratulate Louis XIV. on the birth of the Dauphin, and chosen Master of the Robes. Nor did the impeachment and banishment of his father interfere with his advancement. He defended him with spirit in the Commons, and made an excellent impression by declaring that he would endeavour to show himself not so much a son of the Earl as a member of the House. In 1676 and 1679 he was sent on special missions to John Sobieski, King of Poland, and to the Prince of Orange, respectively. By this time he had become, as Evelyn says, the great favourite, and on the retirement of Essex was made a Privy Councillor and First Commissioner of the Treasury. Nor can it be denied that Rochester, both by his character and services, had earned his promotion to

that important place. He had stood by Charles II. in days of sunshine and of storm; as Dryden wrote,

> Hushai the friend of David in distress,
> In public storms of manly stedfastness.

He was the staunchest of Tories, and of the Church party he had, says Roger North, 'the honour for many years to be accounted the head.' Certainly no politician of his time championed the cause of the Church with greater fidelity and zeal. Burnet described him as a good writer but ungraceful speaker; 'the smoothest man in the Court,' but as 'violent' in office, with high notions of government and an incorrupt man, with too much heat to be false.'[1] Burnet was not likely to err on the side of too favourable an estimate, but he does no more than put his finger upon Rochester's most characteristic faults. To the airs and manner of a *grand seigneur* he added an irritability of temper which gravely impaired his powers in debate and his usefulness in public life.[2] When, for instance, Lord William Russell moved the House of Commons that Laurence Hyde should be dismissed from the King's Council on account of his relationship to the Duke of York, something like a scene ensued. The accused Minister rose in vehement passion to reply; he burst into tears, says the reporter of the speech, and broke off abruptly. He was one of those who may be said to boil at a low temperature, and he was a good hater. But, on the other hand, he had some signal merits. He was industrious, and if it can be true that a man can, because he thinks he can, then Rochester's self-confidence was not without its value. There is a story that he once calmly assured Lord Guilford that in a month's time he could understand any business in England, and that the Lord Keeper very naturally replied, 'Yes, my Lord, but you could understand it much better in two.'[3] He did, indeed, take some pains to make himself conversant with the conduct of affairs, being, says Roger North, 'a person adroit in all matters of wit and business,' and 'observed to be always early plodding at the scrutiny of accounts and estimates before the Lords

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 58.
[2] *The Earl of Ailesbury's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 232.
[3] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*.

came.'[1] And though easily moved to passion, he seems to have been at bottom a meditative man. His musings—in which he loved to indulge on anniversaries—breathe a genuine spirit of religion; as, for instance, those which he was moved to indite by the recollection of the death of his daughter, Lady Ossory. After bemoaning the vanity and weakness of our human nature, and the sad and miserable circumstances in which it is without remedy encompassed, and the time he had spent 'in the usual employments of business or in the less innocent entertainments of the wicked world,' he prays God to teach him to number his days and apply his heart unto wisdom.[2]

With Rochester there was associated at the Treasury Sidney Godolphin, who owed his place not so much to the vigour of his Toryism as to his indisputable usefulness. He came early into royal favour, and filled some minor Court and diplomatic offices. Never in the way, and never out of the way, as Charles II. said, able and assiduous, he made himself one of those ministers with whose services it was impossible for a sovereign for any long period to dispense. He had, says Roger North, 'mastered not only all the classical learning but all the arts and entertainments of the Court, and being naturally dark and reserved, he became an adept in Court politics. But his talent of unravelling intricate matters and exposing them to an easy view was incomparable. He was an expert gamester and capable of all business in which a courtier might be employed.'[3] He carried into the gaming saloon and the betting ring the same talent for calculation and the same balance of judgement that he brought to bear upon the management of the national finances, though not always, it is to be feared, with similar success. Like Charles James Fox, he seems to have thought more highly of his gambling than his statesmanship.

The third of the principal actors in the Ministry was Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, the Chief Secretary of State. The heir to an earldom, and son of a mother who was famous for her beauty, fortune smiled upon him from the first. A Tory by

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford.*

[2] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester,* edited by S. W. Singer.

[3] North's *Life of Lord Guilford.*

hereditary tradition, his political principles hung upon him very loosely; ever an astute and a self-interested intriguer he loved to play the part of minister behind the curtain. As a young man at Christchurch, Oxford, he was rusticated with William Penn for taking part in a kind of Puritan demonstration against the wearing of surplices; but his Puritanism was only skin-deep. He gave great offence at Court by voting in support of the Exclusion Bill, was dismissed from office, and was only restored to royal favour through the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth and his promise of good behaviour for the future. But it was impossible for anybody to predict the particular direction in which, under given circumstances, Sunderland was likely to advance; for no one could unravel the web of his designs. Of all the statesmen of his time he has achieved the doubtful reputation of being the foremost in artifice and craft. In the words of a contemporary lampoon he is cleverly described as

> A Proteus ever acting in disguise;
> A finished statesman, intricately wise;
> A second Machiavel, who soar'd above
> The little tyes of gratitude and love.[1]

This—perhaps the first Tory Cabinet, consisting of Rochester, Sunderland and Godolphin—does not seem to have stood very high in public estimation. Some contemporary verses, entitled *The Young Statesman*, which have been ascribed to Dryden, suggest indeed that the 'Chits,' as they were called, were regarded with something like contempt:

> Clifford was good and brave,
> Bennet's grave look was a pretence,
> And Danby's matchless impudence
> Helped to support the knave.
>
> But Sunderland, Godolphin, Lory,
> Those will appear such chits in story,
> 'Twill turn all politics to jests,
> To be repeated like John Dory,
> When Fidlers sing at feasts.

Nevertheless in their hands remained, except for a period when Sunderland was excluded, the chief control of the government

[1] *State Poems.*

as long as Charles II. lived. He himself grew less and less inclined to interfere, and in the full tide of the Tory reaction, the 'Chits,' who had never to trouble themselves about parliamentary majorities, at least managed the ordinary business of the State without arousing any serious opposition. With them were associated Halifax, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Guilford and Sir Leoline Jenkins. As a 'Trimmer,' Halifax was the sole discordant element in what would otherwise have been a solid Tory ministry. He too it was who succeeeded by his intrigues in getting Rochester displaced from his position at the Treasury, and made the incident, in itself of small significance, well-known to history by a memorable saying. Rochester was removed from the Treasury to the post of Lord President of the Council—an office of higher rank, but far less lucrative, and, therefore, less desirable; upon which Halifax remarked that he had never heard of any one being kicked upstairs before. To Lord Guilford, in succession to Nottingham, was entrusted the care of the great seal. Francis North, better known to history by his title, was a member of a family which was for many years distinguished by its invincible Toryism; and it is to one of them, Roger North, that posterity is indebted for a good deal of historical knowledge which it might otherwise have lost. His *Lives* of his brothers, Lord Guilford, Sir Dudley North, and the Reverend Dr. North—his 'sonorous mementos,' as he called them—and his *Examen* are a mine of information. The latter work, which he wrote in reply to the Whig Kennet's *History*, in order, as he said, to show 'its perverse and wicked design,' and to vindicate the reign of Charles II. from the aspersions of 'that foul pen,' is a remarkable example of an historical narrative warped by extreme party bias, but which is for that reason all the more valuable for an exposition of the Tory point of view and temperament. Francis North, the eldest of the brothers, may be said, therefore, to have his *vates sacer*, and we are admitted in an unusual degree to his intimacy. A successful professional career is not usually romantic, and Lord Guilford's was no exception to the rule. Able, industrious, making full use of opportunities, and with a keen eye to advancement, it was obvious from the first that he was one of those men who were certain one day to arrive. He first began to make a reputa-

tion by arguing so ably against parliamentary privilege that he excited the attention of the Duke of York. He became in succession Attorney-General and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in which capacity he so pleased the Tories on the Western Circuit that they styled him 'Deliciæ Occidentis.' Possessing all the lawyer's facility for finding a reason for everything, and for saying something even when there is nothing to be said, he was a serviceable instrument for putting Tory theories into practice. He not only tried to close the coffee-houses, but draughted the proclamation against petitioning, to the delight of Roger North, who called it the 'Genesis of Abhorrences.' Nor is it to be questioned that his Toryism was perfectly sincere. In saying that he was a 'crafty and designing man,' and in comparing him with his predecessor, Nottingham, Burnet was led astray by party bias. He was, he says, less virtuous and more able than Nottingham; so that whereas the latter seemed to mean well even when he did ill, the former was believed to mean ill even when he did well.[1] But Francis North, whatever we may think of his political opinions, was a cultivated gentleman. His brother, though perhaps a not very trustworthy critic, tells us that he had 'an amiable ingenious aspect,' and that he was an admirable conversationalist; that he was 'free from vanity himself and hated it in others'; that he had 'wit, learning, and elocution, and knew it, and was not sensible of any notable failings whereof to accuse himself; and yet was modest even to a weakness.' Evelyn, too, described him as 'a most knowing, learned, and ingenious person,' and 'of an ingenious and sweet disposition, very skilful in music, painting, the new philosophy, and new political studies.' Such was his avidity for knowledge that he is said to have learned Dutch at Sir Peter Lely's instigation; and he shared to the full that passion for scientific inquiry which was then the fashionable vogue. He varied his researches into the dark places of the law by speculations upon the use of fishes' bladders, and by encouraging the construction of barometers. In cases of witchcraft, however, he does not appear to have arisen above the level of the common superstition. But neither ability nor assiduous application would have brought him to the top of his profession without allegiance to a party;

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 341.

and his Toryism was steady and consistent. He was, says his brother, 'even a professor of loyalty,' which at that time implied something more than what is to-day suggested by the word. He, for instance, described the Church of England as 'the best constitution for a monarch,' because it denied the right of rebellion upon any grounds whatever. We are told that he 'never failed' to do the clergy 'justice,' but his biographer is silent about the way in which he treated the Dissenters. But ardent Churchman though he was, and a stickler for prerogative, there were limits beyond even which Lord Guilford would not go. He had the lawyer's reverence for legality. Though 'commonly reputed a high-flier or prerogative man,' he could not reach the heights of ultra-Toryism which, towards the end of the reign of Charles II., began to mark the leaders of the party, and he was actually 'dropped from the Tory list and turned Trimmer.'[1] The position of a Lord Chancellor who would neither resign nor refuse to comply with the behests of an arbitrary sovereign was certainly unenviable, and Lord Guilford doubtless spoke the truth when he declared that since he filled that high position he had never 'a comfortable minute' in his life. To say with Burnet that he died 'despised and ill-thought of by the whole nation,' would perhaps be an over-statement, but it is certain that he forfeited the confidence of those who had expected better things.

Sir Leoline Jenkins, who joined the Ministry as a Secretary of State, was one of the hard-working and inconspicuous public servants who do more real service for their country than some of those who, gifted with more talents, achieve a reputation that is often disproportionate to their merits. Of all the persons who rose to fill high political office in the reign of Charles II., there was perhaps no one whose career was so free from all reproach. In an unprincipled age his integrity was free from stain. Born and educated in Glamorganshire, he was sent to Jesus College, Oxford, on the outbreak of the Civil War, where he first found an opportunity to show the stuff he was made of, by taking up arms for the King.[2] Leaving the University he took a tutorship, which he was compelled to resign upon the

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford.*

[2] Wynne's *Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins.*

ridiculous charge of keeping a seminary for sedition. Returning to Oxford he took pupils at the Little Welsh Hall in the High Street, but he was too good a royalist to live without giving offence ; and in a discreet withdrawal to the Continent he showed the better part of valour. After a three years' sojourn abroad, he returned to England, and took up his abode with Sir William Whitmore, a Shropshire gentleman, who kept open house for embarrassed Cavaliers. The Restoration opened to Jenkins the way to a career of successful and meritorious effort. He became in turn Fellow and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and was appointed by Archbishop Sheldon his Diocesan and Provincial Commissionary. Then this indefatigable *Oculus Episcopi*, as he was called, became in quick succession, Deputy-Professor of Civil Law, Deputy-Dean of the Court of Arches and Judge of the Admiralty Court and of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Knighted and elected to Parliament, he was sent in 1673 as a plenipotentiary to Cologne, and in 1675 to the Congress at Nimeguen. Both by experience and by character he was, therefore, eminently fitted to fill the place in the administration which he was called upon to occupy. His was one of those orderly, well-regulated, conscientious lives which are secure from the assaults of even the malicious. Pepys admired his temper, his judgement and incorruptibility; Roger North described him as ' a person of great worth, learning (in the civil law), and fidelity,' [1] and as ' the most faithful drudge of a secretary that ever the Court had.' Even his political opponents—for he had no personal enemies—could do no more than minimise his virtues or point out his defects. Burnet, for instance, says that he ' neither spoke nor writ well,' and was ignorant of foreign affairs, ' that he was considerably learned,' but ' phlegmatic dull and slow.' Yet he laboured as one who was conscious that he was ever in the great Taskmaster's eye. No man was ever less inflated with the dignity of office. It had pleased God, he said, to raise him up ' a poor worm to do his Majesty's humble service,' [2] and he hung up in his chamber the old leather breeches in which he first rode to Oxford, in order that he might be

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford.*

[2] Aubrey's *Brief Lives* (Clerk's edition), vol. ii. p. 8.

constantly reminded of the struggles of his early life.[1] The part that Sir Leoline Jenkins played during the few exciting years when he was Secretary of State is of considerable interest and importance from the Tory point of view. In the contest between the Court and the Whigs in the City of London he contributed in no small degree to the great victory of the Tories. It is said that Sir John Moor, the Tory Lord Mayor, was entirely in Sir Leoline's 'management,' and it is, therefore, not surprising to discover that charges of unfairness were made against the Secretary. On the other hand it is only just to say that he was presented with the freedom of the City and chosen master of the Salters' Company in recognition of his efforts to induce the King to use forbearance in the question of the forfeiture of the Charter. But it was upon his share in the debates over the Exclusion Bill that his claim to be considered a representative Tory must principally, rest. For he it was who really led the opposition to the measure in the House of Commons. No speaker, it may safely be said, approached the discussion more amply fitted out with a stock of Tory principles. He was a convinced Churchman, 'set on every punctilio,' says Burnet, even 'to superstition,' and with a hearty aversion from Dissent.[2] Nonconformists must, he thought, either be coerced or humoured with concessions, 'but what those can be that will satisfy God alone knows. For liberty and indulgence doth not oblige ungovernable and ambitious men, but render them more haughty and licentious, and the more is granted, the more will be expected.' Then he had the genuine Tory love of authority and discipline and the haunting fear of anarchy. 'What nowadays is meant by liberty,' he said, 'is but the overthrow of established and approved laws, and to set up humours, to which obedience must be exacted as laws. When the question was raised in the House of Commons whether the division lists should be printed, Sir Leoline opposed the proposition, declaring in his characteristic way that 'it was against the gravity of this assembly, and it is a sort of appeal to the people.' In the debates upon the Exclusion Bill he, of course, found the amplest scope for giving vent to the strongest

[1] *The Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, by Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, edited by Blencowe, vol. i. p. 306.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 250.

Tory sentiments. He positively revelled in enlarging in the most uncompromising language upon the duty of non-resistance and the divine right of kings. 'How can you make a king by Parliament?' he asked. 'I have always taken it, that the government had its original, not from the people, but from God' . . . 'When God gives us a king in his wrath, it is not in our power to change him.' 'We ought to pay obedience to our governors, whether good or bad, be they ever so faulty or criminal' . . . 'I am of opinion that the kings of England have their right from God alone; that no power on earth can deprive them of it.'[1] The Bill, he argued, would make the Crown elective; the oath of allegiance is to the King, and his 'heirs,' and parliament cannot disinherit the heir. In his zeal he even invoked what was some day destined to become a favourite argument with Radical politicians—that is to say, that members of parliament had only a limited and derivative power, and should take instructions from their principals. And so on. It was not often that the House was privileged to listen to such an elaborate exposition of fundamental Tory doctrine.

Sir Leoline Jenkins's oratory, though it failed to carry the House of Commons against the Bill, must have expressed pretty accurately what many outside the House were thinking. For distracted by doubts and agitations and tortured by rumours of plots and seditions true or false, the country thirsted for a period of tranquillity. Wearied of disturbance, men would almost have welcomed a despotism, if it would only have brought with it a cessation from tumults and alarms. The popular cause had in fact been temporarily ruined by the folly of a small but noisy and intemperate section of the Whigs. By their petitioning the King to summon parliament, and by their importunate pressing of the Exclusion Bill they entirely overshot the mark. A great reaction followed, and for nearly ten years the forces of liberalism were retarded. So ready, indeed, was the nation to accept a strong and settled government that it acquiesced almost without demur in the most arbitrary acts. It is true that some large concessions had been made to democratic aspirations. Charles had been forced to relinquish his

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. pp. 420, 447; vol. viii. p. 339.

design of co-operating with the French King in forcing popery on the country, and of humbling the Netherlands; his extravagance had been checked by an economising Parliament; he had reluctantly consented to disband his troops, and to pass the Habeas Corpus Act; he had yielded to the encroachments of the House of Commons over the sphere of the executive. But in the closing years of his reign he ruled more absolutely than he had ever done before. In readmitting the Duke of York to the Privy Council and the post of Lord High Admiral he rudely brushed aside the Test Act; and in refusing to call parliament together after the statutory period he committed a grave breach of constitutional law. In thinking that he might safely do all this he calculated rightly. And so after twenty-five years of conflict between the forces of concentration and the forces of expansion things ended very much as they began. In 1660 the Tories were triumphant; in 1685 they were triumphant once again. In their hands lay the honours of the game.

CHAPTER IV

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND

Janus, Mighty Deity,
Be kind; and as thy searching eye
Does our modern story trace
Finding some of Stuart's race
Unhappy, pass their annals by;
No harsh reflection let Remembrance raise,
Forbear to mention what thou canst not praise.

PRIOR.

WHEN James II. ascended the throne in 1685, the Tories had every reason to suppose that they would remain for some years the dominating party in the State. Never did their position seem more secure. So strongly had the forces of custom and tradition, of discipline and authority, been running, that the monarchy seemed more firmly fixed than at any time since the period of the Tudors. Charles II. had been enabled, almost without protest, to dispense with Parliaments and to bid defiance to the law. And in his successor the Tories found a King in many respects after their own hearts. It is true that he had embraced the Roman Catholic faith and on the death of his first wife had married a Roman Catholic Princess, Mary of Modena. This second marriage was indeed so unpopular that the House of Commons petitioned the King to prevent it, and the apprentices of London expressed the national sentiment in their own rude manner, according to the fashion of the time, by burning the Pope in effigy. But men reflected that James was now no longer young, and that his two daughters, whom he had brought up in the Protestant faith, were married to William, Prince of Orange, and to George of Denmark; so that there was good reason to suppose that the throne sooner or later would revert to the Protestant line. With that hope the Tories, as a whole, were disposed to be content. James's interest in

maritime affairs was always intelligent and keen. At the very beginning of his reign he told his parliament that he must above all recommend to them the care of the navy, 'the strength and glory of his nation,' so that it might be put in such a condition as would make their country considered and respected abroad. There can be no doubt that as Lord High Admiral he performed a genuine public service by the business-like methods he introduced into a department where grave abuses had luxuriantly flourished. After a lapse of over a century the Duke of Wellington testified to the skill with which he had organised the Admiralty. Scarcely less was the interest he evinced in the development of over-sea trade; and when a chartered company was formed for re-establishing commercial relations with the coast of Guinea, James was fitly named its first governor. In this capacity he used an artifice, which does more credit to his intelligence than to his scrupulosity; he palmed off upon the natives a quantity of English cloth, which was packed in such a way as to cheat them into the belief that they were buying Dutch stuff, for which they had a preference.[1]

That James was not without some of the qualities that go to make a good monarch is clear enough. He himself said that Charles's chief security lay in his having a successor whom they liked less than himself—an opinion in which his brother quite frankly declared that he agreed with him. At all events the story goes that when James met the King out walking almost unattended, and expressed his fear at the danger he was running, the easy-going Charles replied, 'No kind of danger, James, for I am sure no man in England will take away my life to make you king.' Perhaps not; but it must not, therefore, be supposed that James's accession to the throne was utterly unpopular. Amongst the Tories, at any rate, the event aroused not indeed enthusiasm, but a kind of chastened hope. They were in the humour to accept a ruler who would not only reign but govern. During the last four years of Charles's reign the country gentry, as Burnet says, 'were as active and zealous to throw up all their liberties, as their ancestors ever had been to preserve them,' they seemed 'to return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under-tyrants themselves.' Strange though it may

[1] Macpherson's *History of Great Britain*, vol. i. pp. 67–69.

appear, there was much truth in this assertion; at all events a writer informs a correspondent in 1685 that it was his deliberate opinion that some time in every reign all the prerogatives should be exercised, 'that there may be frequent instances of everything that may aggrandise the monarchy.' So that James came to the throne at a moment that was peculiarly favourable for a king of his propensities; a wave of high Toryism carried him, as it were, into power upon its crest. Nor was it any disadvantage to him that he was even more resolved than Charles had ever been to be his own prime minister. Already during the latter part of the previous reign Charles—whose habit of indolent evasion was ever growing stronger—took him more and more into his counsels. The poet Waller said that, whereas the House of Commons was determined that James should not reign after the King's death, the King himself was equally resolved that he should reign even during his life.[1] How far Charles acted according to a plan of settled policy it is impossible to say, but of the fact there is no doubt. So that in a sense the coming of James to the seat of supreme authority was an easy and natural transition, and the change was even welcomed. Evelyn, writing a few months after the accession, for instance, bears witness to the new King's 'infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and greater understanding and experience of affairs'; and predicts 'much happiness to the nation, as to its political government'; adding that 'if he so persist, there could be nothing more to accomplish our prosperity but that he was of the national religion.'[2]

The omens, then, were favourable for a tranquil and prosperous reign. James had his enemies of course, and his Whig critics were severe. There was the Duke of Buckingham, for instance, who, says Burnet, gave him once a short but severe character of Charles and his brother, the then Duke of York. 'The King (he said) could see things if he would; and the Duke would see things if he could'—a character, he adds, 'which was the more severe because it was true.'[3] Burnet, however, was sufficiently candid to admit that 'he was esteemed in the former parts of his life, a man of great courage, as he was quite through

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 427.
[2] Evelyn's *Diary*.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 304.

it a man of great application to business.'[1] It would perhaps be near the mark to say that James was an industrious and conscientious worker, who would never admit that his judgement was at fault, and was, therefore, not unfrequently obstinate when he thought that he was merely firm. As events proved, he was neither far-sighted nor sagacious. But from the strictly Tory point of view he had many eminent merits. If the preservation of the monarchy and the maintenance of a strong and concentrated government form the basic elements of Toryism, then indeed James II. in intellect and temperament was Tory to the core. Subordination, discipline, authority, these were the watchwords of his policy. He was, says Burnet truly, 'bred with high notions of the kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim that all who opposed the King were rebels in their hearts. . . . He was for subjects submitting in all things to the King's notions, and thought that all who opposed him or his ministers in Parliament, were rebels in their hearts, and he hated all popular things, as below the dignity of a king.' In his views upon the inviolability of the duty of non-resistance he was, to use an expression of Shaftesbury, 'a perfect Stewart.' Throughout the later portion of the reign of Charles II. the fear of an impending revolution seems to have constantly weighed upon his mind; so that the topic was one to which he was continually reverting. The Duke of Monmouth's popularity, together with the Exclusion Bill, no doubt went a long way to sharpen apprehensions, which in any case would never have been very far distant from his thoughts. It is perhaps not surprising that a King upon whose mind the dread of a republican revolution seems to have brooded like a nightmare should have entertained some rather strong views upon the duty of submission. That James, too, learned some lessons in absolutism during his residence in France it is impossible to doubt, and it is no less certain that he envied and admired the freedom that Louis XIV. enjoyed from the galling interference of a Parliament. It was in the person of the *Grand Monarque* that he seemed to see the pattern and model of a king. The French Ambassador once reported to his master that James had told him that 'he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majesty's bread,

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 539.

and that his heart was French.'[1] His sentiment of gratitude was praiseworthy; but he carried deference to a pitch which scarcely comported with the dignity of an independent sovereign. In receiving, for instance, the French Ambassador, he adopted the ceremonial of Louis, who neither rose from his seat nor uncovered his head—a bit of flattery which so amused the French monarch, when he heard of it, that he said with a smile, '*Le roi mon frère est fier, mais il aime assez les pistoles de France.*' The persecution of the Huguenots did, indeed, cause James some concern, because it was an affair that was distinctly inconvenient for a Roman Catholic King who wished his religion to look well in the eyes of his subjects. But when a translation of Claude's *Plaintes des Protestants*, relating the massacres and barbarities in France, was published in England, and the French Ambassador complained, it was impossible for James to disoblige his royal brother. He therefore ordered the printer of the translation to be prosecuted, and the book to be burned by the common hangman at the Royal Exchange—a piece of subserviency that called forth from Evelyn the following comment:—'So mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.'[2] But James looked at the matter from quite another point of view: 'It has become the fashion to treat kings disrespectfully,' he said, 'and they must stand by each other. One king should always take another's part, and I have particular reasons for showing this respect to the King of France.'

James's zeal for monarchical institutions was doubtless extremely satisfactory from the Tory point of view. But what the average Tory placed only second to the monarchy was the Established Church of England, and here, indeed, the fact that the Supreme Head of the Church was a professed Roman Catholic was justly held to be a great inconvenience, to put it at its lowest. For even supposing that James had no desire to proselytise, he was, to do him justice, no opportunist in religion. It is much to his credit that he admonished his son not to leave the Roman

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 107.
[2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

Catholic Church. 'We can never lose too much for God,' he told him as he drew towards his end. The separation of the Protestant churches was, he thought, 'clearly contrary to the maxim of unity,' and brought about by human greed, passions and ambitions. It is said that when he arrived at Versailles after his abdication, a Cardinal sneered at him as the man who had lost three kingdoms for a Mass; but with all his faults James was never a hypocrite in his religion. He had apparently nothing to gain and much to lose by his conversion, and by a curious irony of fate it was the arguments of Papists—who wished to prove that sovereign monarchs were subject to the Pope—upon which his enemies relied to procure his exclusion from the throne. The book of the Jesuit Parsons, entitled *The Conference about the Succession to the Crown of England*, and published in 1594, was partially reprinted in 1681, and was freely made use of by the exclusionists, who had exhausted their ingenuity in their search for novel arguments. It was not wonderful that two years afterwards the University of Oxford placed the book upon the list of writings condemned to be committed to the flames. But though not a Churchman himself, James was quite shrewd enough to appreciate the value of that great political doctrine of the Church which may be summed up as non-resistance, and with a credulity that never faltered until he received a rude awakening, he clung to the belief that the Church's rule would admit of no exceptions. It is said that Bishop Morley had warned him, when still the Duke of York, of the danger of placing an excessive reliance on the doctrine, and that when Burnet admonished him that he would never reign in peace as a Roman Catholic King, he asked him very pointedly if non-resistance and passive obedience were not the accepted teaching of the Church, and that Burnet replied to this that distinctions might be made which Churchmen would certainly find out, if circumstances ever made it needful to do so.[1] As a psychological study James II. is a figure of considerable interest. A man of experience in affairs, who knew men and had lived in close contact with the world, he yet continued to walk in an atmosphere of self-imposed illusions; for he actually imagined that the English Church was not averse from Popery, and

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. vi. p. 885.

that the conversion of the English people was a consummation not merely to be wished, but one that was quite capable of being achieved. His brother Charles had dreamed similar dreams, but he never confused them with the waking realities of life.[1]

Such, very briefly, was the character of the man, who by reason of his inherited position, his ambitions and intentions, was the most important personage in the State. He had a settled policy, and he was resolved to govern as well as reign. His first acts were of good augury for a continuance of a genuine Tory government, for in his speech to the Council he promised to preserve the government in Church and State as by law established, and, enlarging on the loyalty of the clergy, he promised to support them. His first ministry scarcely differed from the one which by the death of the late King had just gone out of office. It was substantially a Tory Cabinet. He himself kept the post of Lord High Admiral; Rochester, Godolphin, Sunderland, Halifax and Guilford remained. But Halifax was kicked upstairs to become President of the Council, and Rochester's elder brother, Henry Hyde, the second Earl of Clarendon, was appointed Privy Seal. Rochester was sent back to the Treasury and Godolphin became Chamberlain to the Queen, but apart from these appointments, there was no change of much importance. By the accession of the new Privy Seal to the Cabinet, the Tory party gained a new element of influence and authority. From early youth Henry Hyde, as amanuensis to his father, had been trained in the knowledge and conduct of affairs, and had learned the valuable lessons of diligence, discretion and fidelity. In 1667 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, but the treatment of his father estranged him from the Court, towards which he felt so strong a resentment, that he did not scruple to express it in the House of Commons and afterwards in the House of Lords. The influence of his brother-in-law the Duke of York brought about a reconciliation, and in 1680 the new Earl was made a Privy Councillor; In the private relations of life he seems to have been a friendly and good-natured man, though extravagant in his expenditure, with an amateurish

[1] See *The Adventures of King James the Second of England*, by the Author of *The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby*.

interest in science, in antiquities and coins. Like his brother Rochester he appears to have had a strain of genuine piety which found a vent now and then in religious contemplations.[1] As a Tory of the old school of the traditional King-and-Church type, his appointment must have given much satisfaction to the great body of the Tories, who imagined that it gave some indication of the kind of counsels by which the new King intended to be guided. That satisfaction perhaps was somewhat tempered when in a very short time that most faithful and high-minded of all Tories, the gallant Ormonde, was recalled from the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and Clarendon sent out there in his place. There remains one other appointment to be named, which at any rate must have been a significant warning to the Whigs, and that was the admission of the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to the Council. His simultaneous promotion to the peerage—an honour which had not been conferred on a Chief Justice since the thirteenth century—might well have been interpreted to mean that James had high notions of the authority of government and was resolved that it should in no way be impaired.

Such was James's first administration, and from the Tory point of view it must have seemed that he had made a good beginning. The old members were tried and experienced adherents of the monarchy, and the new men, on their past reputation, appeared to bring to it new elements of strength. But there soon became distinctly visible ominous symptoms of the storm that in a few years was destined to burst and overwhelm the Tory party. That the policy which James intended to adopt was the same after which his brother Charles had hankered, but which he had reluctantly given up—a policy, that is to say, of Roman Catholicism based upon a French alliance—gradually became manifest to the world. What in a previous chapter we have ventured to style ultra-Toryism, a blend, that is to say, of popery, absolutism, and an ignoble and corrupt subservience to the French Court, was in actual fact the deliberate and calculated policy of James. A policy more distasteful to the old-fashioned Tory with his sturdy independence, his ill-disguised contempt

[1] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer; *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell, p. 190.

for all foreigners and for Frenchmen in particular, his attachment to the established Church of his fathers, it would be difficult to imagine. Yet it was this policy that James, with the eyes of his mind darkened, was preparing to force the great body of his supporters to adopt. It took a good deal of strain to weaken, and ultimately to destroy, the trust placed by Churchmen in James's declaration; they annulled their fears by the reflection that they had the word of a King, and of a King who had always been as good as his word. It was only gradually that the struggle between the great body of the Tories and the small sect of popish absolutists developed into the great constitutional crisis which resulted in the triumph of the Whigs. The five years of James's reign were fundamentally a conflict between the regular Tory party, and the wing of extremists which we have designated ultra-Tory, because of its anti-English sympathies. Popery and a corrupt dependence on the French Court were as abhorrent to the Tory rank and file as they were to any Whig. The nation had not long to wait in order to see that James intended to rule with no hesitating hand. He began with a distinct, though a technical, illegality in ordering that the customs duties should be levied as before, although they had ceased to be payable on the demise of the late King, and could only be enacted by the authority of parliament. Yet even this act excited scarcely any murmurs, for so strong was the sentiment of loyal attachment to the Crown, that, to use Roger North's words, 'almost anything would be borne with, which in other times would have raised a flame.' His next step was one which at first sight appeared to breathe the purest spirit of toleration, but in reality was grounded upon a less creditable motive. A royal edict, which ordered the discharge of all prisoners confined for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, set at liberty some thousands of Roman Catholics, and incidentally about fifteen hundred Quakers. For whereas the former would not deny the supremacy of the Pope, the latter would not take an oath at all. The Quaker moreover, quite as strongly as the Anglican, preached the duty of submission to authority. But there was no relief for the Nonconformists who had been thrust into gaol under the provisions of the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts. The proclamation was in fact only a preliminary step in

the King's Roman Catholic policy. Papists must first be tolerated before they could be favoured.

These two important acts of policy, though they did, indeed, witness to the enduring vigour of the monarchy, could scarcely have given unalloyed satisfaction to the Tories, who loved legality just as much as they hated popery and quakerism. But when James decided to summon a parliament at an early date, there was nothing to cloud the enthusiasm with which the announcement was received. The Tories liked a strong and dominating government, but under one condition, that it must be a government in which a Tory parliamentary majority had an influential share. James was probably even more desirous than his brother of dispensing with a parliament altogether, but he had sense enough to see that if he summoned one at once, the incidental inconveniences might be very largely mitigated. If ever a king had a chance to bring together a parliament which would be tractable and docile, surely this was the occasion. Toryism at this point of English history may perhaps be said to have reached its zenith. Loyal addresses poured in on every side, many of them couched in terms of extravagant adulation. Amid such a tremendous outburst of affectionate esteem from his subjects James might well think that he had no reason to fear the summoning of a parliament. But in deciding to call one he did not think merely of these loyal ebullitions, he calculated deeply. As Barillon, the French Ambassador, told Louis XIV., James thought that if he called a parliament at once, it would be easier for him afterwards to dispense with one, and that if he hesitated, he would lose a good deal of the merit of what would seem a spontaneous act of confidence. Besides, he added, those who know the English perceive quite well that 'you must not show them any fear in the beginning.'[1] Nor was this all. James was determined that, so far as he could control affairs, the parliament to be returned should be composed of members exactly to his liking. He resorted, therefore, to what, to use a modern slang term, is perhaps one of most extraordinary instances of 'gerrymandering' the constituencies ever known in English history. In the counties the squires and country clergy might usually be trusted, and the Lord-Lieutenants and their deputies

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 2.

brought immense pressure to bear in the interest of the Court. In the boroughs the path was easier still, for quite recently the old charters had been recalled or surrendered and remodelled, so as to exclude Whig influence where it had formerly predominated. And if the change was not everywhere complete, it was hurried on with a view to the elections. Even Roger North admits that this trade of charters ran to an excess and turned to an avowed practice of garbling corporations in order to carry elections to the parliament.[1] Lord Lonsdale, in his memoirs of the time, states distinctly that the ancient method of elections in boroughs was destroyed 'by obliging them to accept charters which vested the power of election in some particular people named for the purpose.'[2] Whether the burgesses were very greatly troubled by this unwarranted invasion of their electoral privileges may well be doubted, for a vote was at this time perhaps more valued for its market price than as a political right to be sedulously cherished. The returning officers were everywhere in the Court interest, and they used their power with unblushing want of scruple. Where brute violence could not be relied upon to secure the rejection of a Whig candidate, resort was had to the most despicable tricks. Elections, for instance, were in some places held at night, or the poll was removed from place to place, or the votes of Dissenters were refused, or great noblemen got possession of the writs, or the King nominated candidates, or false returns were made, or opposition candidates were outrageously insulted.[3]

Such was the character of the general election of 1685, and the result was of course much as everyone expected. Out of a House of Commons of five hundred and thirteen members there were only about forty who, said James, were not exactly just such as he himself would have named. It was, in fact, a house packed with ultra-Tories, and they were mostly new to parliamentary life. Only one hundred and thirty-five had ever sat there before, and it is therefore no wonder that the results of the election were viewed with some misgiving. To the Whigs of course such a parliament was anathema. Burnet may be taken as

[1] North's *Examen*.

[2] Lonsdale's *Memoir of the Reign of James II.*, p. 451.

[3] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. i. p. 341.

their mouthpiece, and he expressed himself with characteristic vigour. 'Thus,' he said, 'all thinking men looked on England as lost and believed that this Parliament would certainly be the ruin of the nation.'[1] Nor were these merely 'the wild and whirling words' of a bitterly prejudiced opponent. For even Evelyn severely criticised the way in which the elections had been conducted. 'In the meantime,' he said, 'elections for the ensuing Parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places. God grant a better issue of it than some expect. . . .'[2] James, in short, considerably overshot the mark. A Tory majority would doubtless in any case have been returned, which would have been much more truly representative, and probably have served his purpose quite as well.

Meanwhile, before the meeting of parliament, Toryism found means to vindicate itself through the medium of the law courts. There was no need to wait for legislation. Titus Oates and Dangerfield, though their crimes were infamous, had acted in the interest of the Whigs, and were marked out for vengeance by the popish ultra-Tories. Brought to trial for perjury, they were sentenced and convicted, but there is no occasion to refer at any length to matters which are well known to history, and have no special relevance to the subject now in hand. It must be enough to say that the vindictive cruelty of the sentences inflicted will ever remain a blot upon the memory of the Tories. Another victim of a very different stamp was Richard Baxter, whose alleged offence was greater in the eyes of Churchmen than it was in those of Roman Catholics. This eminent divine, who, be it remembered, had refused a bishopric shortly after the Restoration, and was now seventy years of age, had written a commentary on the New Testament, wherein he ventured to complain of the persecution of the Dissenters. L'Estrange, the Tory journalist, opened fire in the columns of the *Observator*, and hounded on the government to call Baxter to account. His trial and conviction for seditious libel stand out in salient relief as the most disgraceful among the many regrettable acts

[1] Supplement to Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 208.

[2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

of calculated intolerance which are a blot upon the history of Toryism. The details of the case are too well known to readers of history to need reiterating here, but it may be of some interest to note how the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, in the midst of his storm of virulent invective, put his finger with precision upon those points of difference which divided most sharply the Church from Nonconformity. The defendant 'hates the liturgy,' he exclaimed, 'he would have nothing but long-winded cant without book.' That was a grave offence enough, and then Jeffreys launched the charge that was commonly made against Dissenters. 'Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book is as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat.' It is a matter of some literary interest to note that the most infamous of judges had learned something from the most venomous of satirists, for it was during this trial that Jeffreys freely seasoned his abuse with scraps from Butler's *Hudibras*. The lesson had not been learned in vain. The fate of Baxter—who in default of paying a fine was hurried off to prison—was but typical of the sufferings which the Nonconformists generally underwent at the beginning of this reign. Never did a Tory government, exulting in the full-blown glory of triumphant power, stretch out so heavy a hand to beat down all opposition, never did the Church with less compunction wreak its anger on dissent.

The time now approached for parliament to assemble. Immediately before its opening the Tories held a party meeting at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, but if they had any difficult questions to discuss, these were probably not more serious than the embarrassing size of their majority. The first business—the election of a Speaker—indicated the course which events were going to take. The successful candidate, Sir John Trevor, who was the nominee of Jeffreys, had doubtless earned his promotion by his uncompromising Toryism and by his extensive knowledge of the law. But it can scarcely be said that he adorned the chair either by the comeliness of his person or the integrity of his character. His broad frowning face, his bushy eyebrows and abominable squint were certainly forbidding; and the wits turned his physical blemish to account by observing that whereas justice was blind indeed, bribery only squinted. The story goes that when on one occasion Sir

John happened to pass Tillotson, he remarked that he hated a fanatic in lawn sleeves, and that the Archbishop retorted that he hated a knave in any sleeves.[1] The anecdote, if true, was significant of the kind of reputation that the new Speaker—if not at the time of his election, at all events afterwards—enjoyed. But what of that? He was an audacious, fighting party man, and it would have been impolitic to inquire too curiously into the specks on his character.

The sound of the King's speech at the opening of Parliament had scarcely died away when a remarkable scene occurred—a scene too of exceptional interest in the history of Toryism, because it brought into striking contrast the conservatism of the old Cavalier with the new conservatism blended of popery and absolutism, which dated from the time of the 'Cabal.' Sir Edward Seymour, in an epoch-making speech, disclosed all too clearly the existence of the rift. Sir Edward was himself the very incarnation of the old high-spirited and great-hearted Cavalier. Born in 1633, he was the eldest son of Sir Edward Seymour, Baronet, of Berry Pomeroy, near Exeter, and was descended from the stock of the Dukes of Somerset, one of the noblest families in England. At the Restoration he entered the House of Commons, and soon was promoted to be Commissioner of Naval Prizes and Treasurer of the Navy. But it was by his motion for the impeachment of Clarendon, whom he bitterly upbraided for speaking slightingly of the Commons, that he first fully revealed of what manner of man he was. To say with Pepys that he was 'very high, proud and saucy,' is rather to understate the case.[2] There seems to have been no limit to Seymour's notions of the extent of 'his own worth.' Clever and handsome, he had been lavishly endowed by nature, and was filled with pride of birth. He brimmed over with aristocratic arrogance; but it was an arrogance that had a good deal of force of character to back it. Roger North has with a few graphic touches depicted him for us. 'From being a wild spark about town,' he says, 'he came early into the Court, and was of that gang that routed the Lord Chancellor. . . . He was ambitious and proud in the highest degree, and was supposed

[1] Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, vol. i. pp. 63, 66.

[2] Pepys's *Diary*.

to decline no means that tended to his advancement. When he was of the Privy Council, he scorned to speak at the lower end, where his place was, but commonly walked up near the King; and standing behind the chairs of the Chancellor or other great lords, spoke to the King. And as his nature, so his speeches were often arrogant and disrespectful.'[1] It was at one of these sittings of the Council that he with no less impudence than insight, remarked to Charles II., 'Sir, how long will your Majesty prevaricate with yourself?' A good debater and well-versed in parliamentary forms and business in the House of Commons, we are told, he was listened to 'as an oracle.' It was perhaps, therefore, but to be expected that in course of time he was elected Speaker of the House. It was a position that offered him opportunity to give full play to his taste for rather melodramatic exhibitions of the sense of his own self-importance, and he used it to the utmost. He, for instance, ordered Sergeant Pemberton to be taken into custody for pleading as counsel before the House of Lords in defiance of a resolution of the Commons.[2] When on one occasion at the royal command he summarily adjourned the sitting of the House, he 'in the same moment'—so we are told by Marvell—'stampt down on the floor, and went forth . . . without shewing that decent respect which is due to a multitude in order, and to whom he was a menial servant.'[3] But perhaps he reached the high-water mark of his pride when his coach broke down at Charing Cross, and he seized and entered one belonging to a stranger; for it was fitter, he said, that the other rather than the Speaker of the House of Commons should be compelled to walk. When Seymour was elected a second time by the House, Charles II. took the unusual course of refusing to confirm him; it was said, perhaps truly, in order to preserve him from the animadversions of the Commons, who were displeased by his insolence and suspected an excessive deference to the Court. Such a suspicion was ill-founded; for Seymour was a stout enough Tory to oppose the Exclusion Bill with all his might. And though a Churchman, he was certainly no bigot, openly declaring in parliament his desire

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford.*

[2] Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, p. 29.

[3] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. iv. p. 408.

for some scheme of comprehension. For, he shrewdly remarked, 'if a man finds not his account in the Government he lives under he will never labour to support it. . . . The effects of the Act of Uniformity have been much for the good of Holland in point of trade.'[1]

Such was Seymour, who, when Parliament met in 1685, had just inherited the baronetcy, and had succeeded to a place of much influence and power. The parliamentary representatives from the West of England were nick-named his 'West Saxons'—so great was his authority.[2] As one of the chiefs of the old Cavalier party, there can be no doubt that Sir Edward, as he surveyed the House of Commons, must have felt a good deal of disdain for the new Tories who thronged its benches. With characteristic boldness, he attacked the methods of the elections, questioned the legality of many of the returns, and ended by moving that the consideration of election petitions should be the first business of the House, and that no member whose seat was in doubt should be allowed to vote. No one ventured to rise and second the proposition—a striking testimony to the strength of the new Toryism in the House. Seymour stood almost alone; for even those who secretly applauded him did not possess his courage. So the House immediately proceeded to vote James a life revenue similar to that which the late King had enjoyed, and to devise new ways and means for meeting the growing expenses of the nation. It was to Sir Dudley North, the brother of Lord Guilford, who had formerly served in the Court interest as Sheriff in the City, and was now returned to parliament, that the Lord Treasurer turned for assistance and advice. He did not turn in vain. Sir Dudley, though a bigoted Tory, was one of the cleverest financiers and economists of his time, and the new duties he proposed on sugar and tobacco were adopted, and proved to be exceedingly productive. From finance the House turned to the question of religion. In committee two resolutions of a strong Tory flavour were adopted. The first expressed attachment to the Church of England, and the second called on the King to put the penal

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 114.

[2] *The Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 360; The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xv., pt. iv.: The Papers of the Duke of Portland, p. 177.

laws in execution against all persons who were not members of the Church. The committee apparently overlooked the fact that the latter resolution, as it applied to Roman Catholics as well as Dissenters, must be exceedingly offensive to the King. So the House rescinded the obnoxious resolution, and passed one of confidence in the King's promises instead. So far all went well; and perhaps the good hopes which were expressed for a prosperous issue of events were not extravagant. It is, moreover, significant testimony to the prevailing strength of Tory feeling that the Act re-enacting the censorship of the press passed through both Houses, almost without debate, and that it excited hardly any comment in the country. The fact that the attention of the nation was diverted to a serious rebellion may partly account for this apparent unconcern.

For fully five years the Whig party had been so totally submerged beneath the Tory flood, that it had scarcely been possible for them to make their presence, much less their influence, felt in the ordinary legitimate and constitutional ways. Whiggism, rightly or wrongly, was suspected of complicity with sedition and of being tainted with republicanism; it was discredited and banned. As usually happens, when a movement is denied a legitimate vent, it sought to find an outlet in an unconstitutional manner. The rebellions of Argyle in Scotland, and of Monmouth in England, were the manifestations of Whig discontent which repression had galled into reckless adventure. Both movements flowed from the same original source, and both inevitably worked themselves out into the same dark and fatal ends. The Monmouth rising, however, has the more intimate connection with the history of Toryism in England. Of the incidents of this ill-starred adventure it would be irrelevant to speak with any particularity, but of its relations to Toryism something perhaps may usefully be said.

The Duke of Monmouth had already in the last reign entertained vague ambitions of succeeding to the throne. A natural son of Charles II. and one of the few mortals upon whom that monarch lavished any genuine affection, his design at one time did not seem unrealisable. The agitation that arose over the Exclusion Bill opened out a fair vista of success. The unpopularity of the Duke of York had reached its zenith, and the

moment was propitious for a great Whig leader to appear upon the scene. The youthful Monmouth, lured onwards by the dazzling prospects of a crown, grasped at the skirts of chance; and for a time it seemed as though he would go far. Winning, handsome, and fond of sport, he was master of those arts of popularity which endear a man to all classes of English society.

When James came to the throne, the Duke of Monmouth was making a more or less reluctant stay in Holland, whither it had been thought expedient by his father to send him. The young Prince had confessed to a knowledge of the Rye House Plot 'in general' but not of the 'designed assassination.' There was good reason, therefore, why James should thoroughly dislike a man who, as he thought, was working to supplant him, and there was almost equal reason why the Tories generally should view his vagaries with repugnance. The Monmouth party was becoming synonymous with Whiggism. If Charles forgave his son his foolish errors, the Whigs grew 'very insolent,' and the Tories were depressed by the sight of what looked like a triumph for their opponents. If, on the other hand, the King frowned on the Prince, the Tories were elated. The wayward youth became, so to speak, the centre round which the party conflict whirled. The wiser heads among the Whigs, however, justly estimated the strength of Tory feeling, and the hopelessness of attempting to beat it down by force of arms. They did their best to dissuade the Duke of Monmouth from embarking on an enterprise which from the first was doomed to failure. The greater part of the Whig gentry refused to compromise themselves by lending their assistance; or, as is related in a contemporary document, 'there was not five pounds to be had, for all people of interest were unwilling to part with a penny.'[1] Yet the Duke was not to be deterred. In one point only, in laying the plans of his rebellion, did he show the smallest judgement, and that was in making his appeal to the Whigs of the West of England. For it was in Somersetshire that the Roundheads had fought with the most stubborn desperation, and it was there that their descendants still clung with the most obstinate pertinacity to the Puritan principles and practice.

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii., parts v. and vi.; The House of Lords Papers, p. 393.

The rebellion resolved itself in short into a premature and ill-regulated outbreak of militant dissent. So complete was the failure of the insurrection from the Dissenter's point of view, that in the last and tragic scenes in which the movement ended, the Church of England found an impressive opportunity to inculcate the duty of non-resistance. Bishops Ken and Turner, and Dr. Tenison were summoned to attempt to wring from Monmouth a confession of his assent to this doctrinal corner-stone of the Anglican Establishment. But like Lord William Russell before him under similar circumstances, he could not be prevailed upon to pronounce his unqualified acceptance of a dogma which in three years' time was destined to be very rudely shaken by the visible actions of the very party who now preached it in such uncompromising terms. The Monmouth tragedy provided what was perhaps the last occasion for an enunciation in solemn form of a supreme and cardinal principle of Toryism. There was no one who could at that time have foreseen that before many years were passed it would only survive in a very attenuated form.

In another respect the Monmouth rebellion is of considerable interest from the Tory point of view. The maintenance of an adequate military force, as we have had occasion in a previous chapter to remark, is a necessary condition and an indispensable element of a strong and concentrated national government. By the rising in the West the old question of the militia, or, as an alternative, of a standing army, was revived in a rather acrimonious form. There was an army question then as much as now. To the old Cavalier party, no less than to the Whigs, the notion of a standing army was abhorrent; their alarmed imaginations conjured up a dread chimera of tyranny and absolutism. The Monmouth rebellion, however, afforded James a pretext for pushing forward his long-cherished plan of substituting a regular military force for the militia. The Duke of Monmouth, it must indeed be allowed, gauged more truly than the King the feelings of the nation; for among the things which he enumerated in his proclamation as worthy objects of desire was the maintenance of the militia, under the command of the sheriffs, who in their turn should be elected by the freeholders. The thoughts of James were very different. Addressing

parliament he said, 'I hope everybody will be convinced that the militia, which hath hitherto been so much depended on, is not sufficient for such occasions; and that there is nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay that can defend us from such as, either at home or abroad, are disposed to disturb us.'[1] The speech seems to have given rise to much debate, and the proposal for a standing army did not entirely want supporters who were able to advance some telling arguments. A resolution was, however, passed that leave be given to bring in a Bill 'to render the militia more useful.'[2] But there was nothing to prevent James from proceeding to augment the standing army without the authority of parliament, nor did he neglect the opportunity. The six regiments of Scotch and English troops, which had been permitted to enter the Dutch service, had already been recalled; and to the six thousand men already under arms about twelve thousand more were added, 'to the astonishment of the people of England,' says Lord Lonsdale, 'who had not so much as in historie heard of anie such thing in time of peace.'[3] But though the House of Commons was determined to vote only such a sum of money as would suffice for the maintenance of the army during the reorganisation of the militia, the victory for the moment lay with James.

In one other point the Monmouth rebellion was made use of by James to serve his absolutist ends. To abolish the Test Act was an essential step in the great scheme that he had planned; and in the turmoil of the rebellion, when irregularities might on grounds of public service be properly condoned, he did not scruple to violate the Act by admitting Roman Catholic officers, who had not taken the oath, to hold commissions in the army. But when the danger had passed, there remained no valid reason for conniving at a grave breach of constitutional law; and it is significant of the strength of national feeling on the subject that perhaps the strongest Tory House of Commons which ever sat, addressed the King, respectfully indeed, but firmly, in terms of

[1] North's *Life of Lord Guilford*; Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 88.

[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. viii., p. 389.

[3] Lonsdale's *Memoirs of the Reign of James the Second*, p. 457.

protestation. His reply marked the opening of the rift that was soon to divide him from the Tories who had shown such proofs of their devotion. In high displeasure he censured their presumption, though he added, 'however you may proceed on your part, I will be very steady in all promises which I have made to you.' The debate in the House upon the question of fixing the time for considering the King's reply was marked by a memorable scene. The motion that a time be appointed, which had come from the Whig opposition, was seconded by John Coke, a leading Tory. 'I hope,' he exclaimed, 'we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of duty by a few high words.'[1] But language of this sort was too bold for a House compact of Tories who were timid and obsequious. Coke, amid a storm of anger, was ordered to be committed to the Tower, 'for his indecent and undutiful reflecting on the King and his House.' That a Tory should thus have dared to encounter the passions of the House was, indeed, a great historical event. It was a premonitory symptom of the tempest that was rapidly approaching. The debate in the House of Lords upon a similar motion was marked by two incidents which were scarcely less significant. The first was the bold candour of Halifax, who for his protests against the violations of the Test Act had already been dismissed from office. 'We are thankful,' he said, 'whenever our gracious Sovereign deigns to speak to us. Especially thankful are we when, as on the present occasion, he speaks out and gives us fair warning of what we are to suffer.' The second was that one of the prelates, Compton, Bishop of London, ventured to speak against the policy of the King. That he should meet with opposition from a great ecclesiastic of the Anglican Church was a fact that should have been enough to prove to James that there was a limit beyond which the most genuine Tories could not be prevailed upon to move. The result was far otherwise. The next day, before any definite decision in parliament could be reached, he prorogued it. It was the last time that he ventured to meet a House of Commons which was loyal to a fault. Twice in the following year the parliament was prorogued; and it was finally dissolved in 1687 after a brief and inglorious career. So far had James diverged

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. viii. pp. 369–370.

from national feeling, so alien were his sentiments from those of the best conservative elements in the country, that he found himself completely out of harmony with a parliament which he himself declared was of a character exactly to his liking.

The time had now arrived when the old conflict which had continued intermittently, and with more or less violence, since the days of the 'Cabal,' between the old Cavalier Toryism and the new reactionary Toryism, had to be fought out to the finish. It must be owned that the time seemed favourable for a victorious issue for the latter. James had a docile parliament, which he could prorogue when it was inconvenient to meet it; he had secured a revenue for life, and he had even managed to create a standing army, which was thought sufficiently large to constitute a national danger to a liberty-loving people. But there was one obstacle that barred the way, and that was the existence of the Test Act. To induce parliament to repeal it seemed a hopeless undertaking. There remained another way; if the Act could not be repealed, it might be found possible to dispense with its provisions. The second seemed at any rate a more practicable plan, and James, who, to do him justice, was never wanting in dogged perseverance, bent the whole force of his mind to push it through to a successful termination. It was a perilous undertaking, but he resolved to put his fortune to the touch.

The constitutional question raised by James was one of great importance in itself, and of special interest for a party which was peculiarly distinguished by the fervour of its loyalty, and placed the duty of non-resistance and passive obedience among its fundamental dogmas. The Tory party was before everything a monarchical party; and it must be allowed that in making his appeal to loyal sentiment James chose his ground with skill. He put, so to speak, the basic principles of Toryism to the test. Either the non-resistance dogma would be strenuously maintained or it would be shown to be a mere lip-profession, which under inconvenient circumstances might be explained away by qualifying phrases. In claiming to dispense with the provisions of the Test Act, James pushed into the arena of debate no less a question than the limits and extent of the

royal prerogative—perhaps the gravest of all questions with which in the seventeenth century English statesmen had to deal.

That James was wrong in his contention scarcely anyone at the time would have ventured with great confidence to assert; for the extent of the prerogatives of the Crown had never been mapped out with precision. The whole question of the prerogative was during the Restoration period entirely unsettled and involved in much uncertainty. The prerogative was capable of being exercised in various fields, but in what fields, and within what limits it could be lawfully exercised was a matter of considerable doubt. In what may be called the sphere of administration much latitude was apparently allowed, and some things, which in modern times could only be enacted by parliament, were decreed by a simple proclamation. There was one prerogative in particular which Charles claimed the right to exercise, but over which he was not suffered to have his way. To dispense with the penal and disabling statutes, so far as they affected Roman Catholics, was an idea which throughout his reign he never ceased to cherish. He, however, was not the man to allow himself to be thwarted in his designs without a struggle, and in 1672 he launched upon an astonished world his Declaration of Indulgence. If he could not obtain parliamentary sanction, he resolved to do without it. 'We think ourselves obliged,' so the Declaration ran, 'to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so by several statutes and acts of Parliament'; and the King's will and pleasure was declared to be that 'the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended.' The House of Commons was immediately in a flame of indignation, and passed a resolution that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament.' Not even the Dissenters were inclined to accept a measure of toleration effected in a manner that seemed to be in the long run dangerous to freedom. The fact was that the House was determined that the Sovereign should not be absolute

in the Church any more than he was in the State; and so the Declaration was reluctantly recalled.[1]

A bolder man than James II. might have hesitated before embarking on a course of policy from which his brother had ignominiously retreated. Yet the case was not so plain that plausible arguments could not be produced in support of the exercise of the dispensing power. It was a much vexed question upon which a good deal of dark learning had settled down. A considerable mass of authoritative opinion could be quoted. James's contention, therefore, was not one which it seemed utterly hopeless to endeavour to sustain. He himself, indeed, had no doubt whatever about the matter. When the seven Bishops presented their petition, he told them bluntly that 'the dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the Church of England. . . . God hath given me this dispensing power and I will maintain it.'[2] Yet he resolved to act with caution, and it must be allowed that he carefully prepared his ground. It was obvious that if a legal sanction for the exercise of the dispensing power could be obtained from the judicature, a great point would be gained. Him, however, whom God wishes to destroy, He first of all maddens; and James took the fatal step of manufacturing a court upon whose decision he could confidently rely. How far the breach had widened between the old school of Tories and the new may be gathered from the fact that he dismissed no less than four Tory judges, and replaced them by others of a more malleable type. Even the Chief Justice Jones, who hitherto had never shown the slightest independence, informed the King that he might find twelve judges to give him the judgement that he wanted, but hardly twelve lawyers. With the four recalcitrant judges there went out of office the Solicitor-General, Heneage Finch, the scion of a great Tory house, who could not be prevailed upon to argue in contradiction to his conscience. Amongst the new judges, by a curious irony of fate, was Christopher Milton, a brother of the poet; he was, says Evelyn, a Papist, and himself took office in violation of the Test Act. At the head of the bench was placed

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. p. 325.

[2] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer, vol. ii. p. 480.

Sir Edward Herbert, whose character even Burnet admits was quite beyond reproach. He was, he says, a well-bred and a virtuous man, generous and good-natured,' and a 'true Protestant,' but had 'unhappily got into a set of very high notions' about the King's prerogative.[1] For these notions he seems to have been in part at least indebted to Jeffreys, who advised him to execute the law with vigour when he had to deal with Whigs and 'snivelling Trimmers'; for had not Christ Himself said that those who are not with us are against us? With such a court the result of a test case could not be doubtful, and such a case it was easy to provide. Accordingly the well-known collusive action was brought against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic gentleman, who had been appointed colonel of a regiment, and governor of Dover Castle. The judgement delivered by the Lord Chief Justice must have satiated the most gluttonous Tory in the Kingdom.[2] He laid it down that the King of England is an absolute and not a limited prince; that the laws are his and that the construction of them belongs to him only; that the King's prerogative is as much the care of the law of England as the property and liberty of the subject; that the King cannot by any concession part with any branch of his prerogative; and that parliament cannot even with the royal assent deprive the King of the service of his subjects or limit his choice. 'There is no law whatsoever,' he affirmed, 'but may be dispensed with by the supreme lawgiver, as the law of God may be dispensed with by God himself, as it appears by God's commands to Abraham to offer up Isaac.' Evelyn did not exaggerate in saying that the purport of the judgement was to declare the government of England to be 'entirely in the King'; that 'the Crown was absolute'; that the penal laws were only powers to enable him to execute the laws, but not bars to bind his power; that he could pardon offences and forgive penalties, and therefore could dispense with them. 'Everyone,' he adds, was 'astonished'; and well he might be.[3] Sir Matthew Hale once said that twelve redcoats in Westminster Hall were capable

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 480.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv., parts iii. and iv.: The Kenyon Papers, p. 97.

[3] Evelyn's *Diary*.

of doing more injury to the nation than many thousands in the field ;[1] and they certainly on this occasion went a long way towards precipitating the Revolution. This amazing judgement, as Hallam says, may be said to have sealed the condemnation of the Stewart dynasty.

Two things remained yet to be done before taking the final and irrevocable step. The first was, if possible, to secure the adhesion of the House of Commons. It was, to be sure, a Tory House, if ever there was one, but even a Tory could sometimes be bold enough to show an independent spirit. Parliament had been more than once prorogued, and James did not like to summon it until he felt sure that it would meet his wishes by abolishing the Test Act. Of the attempts of the Crown to influence the House of Commons something in a previous chapter has been said ; but strenuous though they sometimes were, they were never equalled by those now made by James II. His endeavours to convince, or to prevent, by personal persuasion, gave rise to a new term in English politics ; for 'closeting' was the word invented to designate the private interviews to which members of parliament were summoned by their Sovereign.[2] In cases where this course was not possible, the judges on their circuits were directed, as Sir John Reresby puts it, to 'feel the pulses' of parliamentary representatives. Much evasion was resorted to, and in some cases this interference with the independence of the popular chamber was resented. It was in any case a bold attempt to undermine one of the national barriers against arbitrary government, and James judged rightly that it was not likely to succeed. When such a servile Tory as Sir Dudley North prevaricated, it might well appear a hopeless undertaking.

The second thing was to make up in some measure for the failures of peaceful persuasion by the means of a military force. The greatest standing army which had ever yet been seen in England was encamped on Hounslow Heath ; and as though to emphasise the fact that it was in a peculiar sense the appanage of the Crown, the courtly and aristocratic character of its officers was ostentatiously displayed. The commanders, says Evelyn, profusely vied with one another in the 'expense and magnificence

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 70. [2] *Ibid.*

of tents.' There were, he remarks, 'many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment.'[1] There were even many Tories who dreaded in this great military force an instrument of tyranny, and it is certainly significant that the most vehement expression of this widely-spread alarm came from a Church of England clergyman. In the history of the English standing army the Reverend Samuel Johnson will ever remain a memorable figure.

This remarkable man was born in Staffordshire in 1649, and was educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He became Rector of Gorringham, Essex, and Chaplain to Lord William Russell, from whom perhaps he imbibed some portion of his liberal sympathies.[2] He first came prominently into public notice through a sermon which he preached before the Lord Mayor in 1679, indirectly approving the Exclusion Bill. Three years afterwards he bounded into fame by the publication of his *Julian the Apostate*, in which he elaborately argued that the early Christians did not hold or practise the duty of non-resistance; that, in fact, they tried to hinder Julian's succession and resisted his attempts to put down their religion; and that those of them who submitted, did so because they believed that their persecutors were acting legally. This 'truly glorious person,' as Calamy enthusiastically called him,[3] 'presented the extraordinary spectacle of a Church of England clergyman attacking the doctrine which it was the peculiar function of the Tory party to defend. Imprisoned for a libel on the Duke of York, he succeeded through the instrumentality of a fellow-prisoner in getting printed and disseminated among the troops and the country generally a paper, which even the clergy and the Tory party generally must have inwardly approved. His *An Humble and Hearty Address to all the Protestants in King James's Army* was, as Henry Savile told Lord Halifax, 'short, pithy, and plain, proportioned to the persons it was designed for.'[4] It was the first trumpet-call to the Protestant officers and soldiers, not to serve as instruments to enslave their country, and to ruin the religion they professed; the first symptom of revolt against

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*. [2] Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 201–202.
[3] Carter's *Life and Times of John Kettlewell*, p. 20.
[4] *The Savile Correspondence*, edited by W. D. Cooper, p. 290.

the ultra-Toryism which James and his Roman Catholic coterie were endeavouring to fasten upon the nation. The terrible severity of Johnson's punishment may be taken to indicate that the Government was under no illusions, and that it recognised in the *Address* a spark of disaffection which it was absolutely necessary to trample out and quench.

To relate the well-known story of the attempts of James II. to foist upon the country his ultra-Tory system would be to tell a thrice-told tale. But there are some incidents, which for their special interest in a history of Toryism, may claim a passing notice. The gradual change in the character of the administration is one of these. Halifax, the single discordant note in an otherwise compact Tory ministry, was soon displaced. Lord Guilford, who, in spite of his life-long services to his party, was being sneered at as a Trimmer, quickly sank beneath the burden of anxiety and disease; and Jeffreys, who, in his conduct of the trials arising from the Monmouth rebellion, may be said almost to have shut the gates of mercy on mankind, received the great seal and became one of the dominant members of the Cabinet. In less than two years the Earl of Rochester was, for his obstinate adherence to Protestantism, dismissed from the Treasury, not without some loss of dignity. At about the same time his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, was recalled from the Viceroyalty of Ireland, to make way for Tyrconnel. Whether Sunderland, the remaining member of the original ministry, was a genuine convert to Roman Catholicism it is impossible with absolute certainty to say. But that he was the central figure in what was essentially a Roman Catholic Cabinet there can be no doubt at all. Since the Reformation such a government had not been known in English history, and the fact that it was possible to form it bears irrefragable testimony to the character of the relations which at that time existed between the Sovereign and his parliament. It is evident that ministers were still regarded as chiefly responsible to the Crown.

Next perhaps in importance was the revival by James of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. As a strong assertion of the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical affairs, such a revival may have been perhaps not distasteful to the class of Tories who held extreme Erastian ideas. But not even to them

could the use of the Commission as an engine of popery have been anything but abhorrent. There are few things stranger in the character of James than his power of self-delusion; and this trait was in nothing more apparent than in the manner in which he utterly misread the temper of the Anglican clergy, who, he imagined, would suffer anything rather than depart a hair's-breadth from their dogma of non-resistance. When the poet Waller married the daughter of a clergyman, James told him that he wondered that he could marry the daughter of a falling Church; to which not very felicitous remark Waller replied that he had observed that this falling Church had a trick of rising up again. Not even when the Revolution was actually impending was the confidence of James in the fidelity of the clergy at all disturbed. 'And now, my Lord,' he said to Lord Clarendon, with evident self-assurance, 'I shall see what the Church of England men will do.' It is to be feared that the Earl was only trying to evade the point at issue when he answered, 'And your Majesty will see that they will behave themselves like honest men; though they have been somewhat severely used of late.'[1] What exactly in their case constituted behaviour 'like honest men' was a matter upon which there was much division of opinion.

By far the most interesting incident in the history of party during the reign of James II. was the strong but eventually unsuccessful effort that was made by the ultra-Tories to win over the Whigs in order to form a working coalition against the great body of the Tories. There can be no question that James counted largely on the gratitude of the Dissenters for his Declaration of Indulgence. He did even more; he made a great bid for their support. He endeavoured to expose the malevolence of Churchmen in ecclesiastical suits against Dissenters; he ousted many Tories from their positions of Justices of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenants, and he replaced them with Whigs; and to the astonishment of everybody he appointed Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Titus Privy Councillors. What wonder that Lord Clarendon should have made the following entry in his Diary?—'Good God bless us, what will the world come to?'[2]

[1] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer. [2] *Ibid.*

How distasteful all this must have been to the great majority of the Tories may be easily imagined. James's dogged perseverance was only equalled by his blindness, and he now resolved upon a bolder step—nothing less, that is to say, than to replace the parliament he had packed with Tories with another which he set about to pack with Whigs. Just as previously the constituencies were 'gerrymandered' in favour of the Tories, so now the same process was carried on in favour of their opponents. 'The whole machine,' says Roger North, 'was fanatic; and the design was declared to compass a fanatic Parliament'[1] For a time at least it seemed by no means impossible that the great masss of the Dissenters would have been won over to the cause upon which James had set his heart. The Indulgence liberated many imprisoned Nonconformists, and a great scheme of toleration quite naturally commended itself to all fair-minded men of every shade of creed. Moreover, he calculated rightly that, though many could bear the frowns of kings, there were few who could resist their smiles. In pursuance of this policy Sir John Shorter—'a very odd, ignorant person, a mechanic, I think,' says Evelyn—was elected Lord Mayor, and William Kiffin, a Baptist, was nominated an Alderman, although he vigorously protested.[2] Sir John showed the stuff of which he was made by ostentatiously holding a conventicle at the Guildhall. The mere fact that the Quakers Penn and Barclay were on friendly terms with James and vigorously supported the Indulgence was proof enough that it would have taken very little to win over the whole body of Dissenters to his side. That the Declaration of Indulgence was on plausible though different grounds approved by certain sections of the nation, is very clear. The extreme Tories viewed with satisfaction what seemed to them a vigorous use of the prerogative. The Dissenters approached the matter from a totally different standpoint; but from them there poured in addresses not a few. There was one from a company of cooks, who seemed unable to escape from the overpowering influence of their trade. The Declaration, they observed, with a curious lack of humour, 'resembled the Almighty's manna, which suited every man's

[1] North's *Examen*. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

palate.'[1] But the cooler heads amongst the Whigs were not to be allured by the mere prospect of a transient and unsubstantial gain. The more cautious viewed the whole proceedings with suspicion:

'Tis but a sly insinuation
To work a Popish inundation.[2]

Some of them, it is true, quite honestly believed that James, as the Papist Dryden put it, had 'restored God to his empire over conscience'; but the majority were not to be deluded. They remembered with dismay that in the Declaration of Indulgence, which a short time before he had issued in Scotland, he had claimed an 'absolute power which all his subjects were to obey without reserve'! And to fear and suspicion were soon added the force of skilful argument. Lord Halifax in his *Letter to a Dissenter* with great mastery pointed out the risk they ran of making 'a losing bargain' by the sacrifice of their future constitutional liberties; while Defoe probed the situation with his usual courage and directness. 'I had rather,' he declared, 'the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures than that the Papists should fall both upon the Church and the Dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot.' That was nobly said, and it expressed too the prevailing feeling of the Whigs. They feared the extreme Tories even when they brought gifts in their hands.

[1] *The Adventures of King James the Second*, by the Author of the *Life of Sir Kenelm Digby*.

[2] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 89.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION PERIOD

Until, then, philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one . . . cities will never cease from ill—no, nor the human race either, as I believe—and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day. PLATO.

THE Revolution of 1688 marks a critical epoch in the history of English thought. There was indeed no breach of continuity, no severance in the filiation of ideas. Slowly the ground had been prepared, and more thoroughly perhaps than anyone had realised. The Revolution was but a single instance of that 'conservative innovation' which is so characteristic of English politics. Carlyle, in his own peculiar manner, has poured contempt upon the new order of affairs. 'Instead,' he said, 'of heroic Puritans and heroic Cavaliers came now a dawdling set of argumentative Whigs, and a dawdling set of deaf-eared Tories, each half-foolish, each half-false; the Tories had no longer a person, but only an office to be loyal to, no living soul to worship, but only a dead velvet-cushioned chair.'[1] But such a view as this is far from comprehensive; it completely fails to recognise that at the Revolution the mental horizon widened, the intellectual atmosphere underwent a vivifying change, and that Englishmen's outlook on the world was extended and enlarged. To the signs of the times, however, James II. had firmly closed his eyes. The saying of Voltaire that it is timidity only that throws States away might perhaps be exemplified in the history of James's flight, just as it afterwards was by that of Louis Philippe; but it is impossible to doubt that in James's case, at least, something more than courage was required. Upon the terms that he completely changed his intellectual attitude he

[1] Carlyle's *Essay on Dr. Johnson.*

might have been allowed to keep his throne ; and it was because such a thing was not to be expected that his so-called abdication was accepted as a convenient means of escape from a difficult position. James was not the man to turn his back upon his previous intellectual self ; but his ultra-Toryism was repugnant to the feelings of the nation—it was alien to the spirit of the time. It is useless for a man, however long-enduring, to strive against the current of his age ; and so James was swept away, the victim of circumstances, more deserving of pity than of blame. It was no sedition that occurred ; it was a revolution. For, as Lamartine said, seditions come from below, revolutions from above. Seditions are only the wrath of the people, revolutions are the idea of an epoch. And so the events in England in 1688 represented the new birth, the bursting forth, the blossoming of a fresh order of ideas. The movement was throughout fundamentally an intellectual one, and the work practically of an intellectual aristocracy. This is the essential fact that underlay the superficial forms of what at first sight might appear to be a simple party contest. The history of the year 1688 no doubt was rendered memorable by the rout of the Tories and the triumph of the Whigs. But the events, if broadly looked at—*sub specie eternitatis*—meant something more than the victory of a party.

The character of the events during the period between the accession of William and Mary and that of Queen Anne—which for the sake of convenience may be styled the Revolution period —might be summarily described by saying that it was marked by a noticeable decline in what in a previous chapter has been called the theological phase of intellectual development, and by a corresponding rise in the spirit of rationalism. And just as previously in the reigns of Charles II. and his successor the theological phase was in the main associated with the Tory point of view, and rationalism with that of the Whigs, so it happened that a great Whig victory greatly modified, if it did not quite invert, the old order of ideas. What took place might be summarised by saying that there was an unusually rapid sloughing of the old medieval skin. The beginning of the seventeenth century found England still clothed in medieval vestures ; the close of it found her, partially at least, in the

apparel of the moderns. But during the last quarter the process advanced with accelerated speed. In this fact lies the true significance of the Revolution period, when events are divested of their purely superficial aspect. It was in a less degree an age of faith and more one of questioning and doubt. A well-known writer has described the struggle between William and the abdicated monarch as essentially one between ecclesiastical interests and secular interests, and has stated the 'fundamental idea' of the Revolution of 1688 to be 'the elevation of the State above the Church.'[1] This from one point of view is a true representation of the facts. From a narrower and a party point of view it may be said that whereas the Restoration period was one of Tory rule tempered by Whiggism, the Revolution period was one of Whig rule tempered by Toryism. It will be the task of the historian to deal with the forces of Toryism during the reign of William III. no longer as dominating, but as struggling to make their influence felt. Their onward rush was stayed, they slackened into a quiet backwater where their motion was partially arrested for a time.

It will be useful, therefore, to glance very briefly at the state of the intellectual atmosphere of the period at which we have arrived. It would be too much to assert that the theological phase had by any means entirely passed away. In the domain of politics it still to a large extent retained its grip. Men still revelled in biblical analogies and illustrations. Yet even in the political sphere this mental attitude was slowly weakening. The argument, for instance, that the coming of William III. was the act of Providence—a view set out in Bishop Lloyd's book on *God's Way of Disposing of Kingdoms*—won so little acceptance that the volume narrowly escaped being ordered by parliament to be burned. In the realm of physical science, on the other hand, where, as we have seen, there had already in previous reigns been a conspicuous absence of theological prejudice, great advances continued to be made. At the very time in 1687, when James II. was at the height of his reactionary course, Newton gave his *Principia* to the world. The idea of science as organised knowledge was still perhaps but faintly grasped; and that 'fanaticism of veracity,' which Huxley placed

[1] Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, ch. vii.

among the highest of the virtues, was, indeed, but rarely practised. Nevertheless the growing application of scientific methods to the domains of ethics, politics, economics, history, and lastly of theology, was one of the most notable manifestations of the expanding spirit of the age. The treatises of Locke—who was the incarnation of that spirit and the type of what was highest in his era—upon Civil Government and the Human Understanding may be taken to illustrate the novel attitude of mind which inquirers were beginning to adopt. The wind bloweth where it listeth ; and not even questions of religion could be withdrawn beyond the influence of the movement. The mere fact that Locke should have laboured to demonstrate the reasonableness of Christianity testifies to the spirit that was abroad. Even Church of England clergymen, South and Sherlock, had a sharp controversy over the nature of the Trinity. But such critical freedom, disturbing as it was to the old traditional modes of thought, was not allowed to pass without the keenest opposition. Even the King thought it necessary to urge the bishops to repress heresy and schism, and finally legislation was invoked to check what was beginning to be thought a growing evil. In the year 1698 an Act was passed providing that anyone who had been educated in or professed the Christian religion, and should by writing, printing or preaching deny the Holy Trinity or the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority, should be disqualified for holding any office for the first offence, and for the second be rendered incapable of becoming a guardian, executor or legatee, of bringing an action at law or of purchasing land, and should be liable in both cases to imprisonment for a period of three years. The time was in fact approaching when it almost appeared that Christianity existed solely for the purpose of being proved by its defenders. To sum up the matter briefly, it may upon the whole be said that during the years 1688 to 1702 the theological state was, to use Comte's phraseology, quickly giving way to the succeeding metaphysical and positive states. If, as Bacon said, wonder is the seed of knowledge, then the faculty of wonder was ever growing more vigilant and alert.

It is, however, in the sphere of political questions that the increasing substitution of the rational for the theological attitude

of mind will in this place have chiefly to be considered. What, in the new intellectual atmosphere, were the modifications which Tory principles underwent, and what, under these fresh impulses, were the changes in the practice and conduct of the party? It is to these and similar questions that our attention during the period now before us will have to be directed.

The ultimate principles of Toryism—its *Prima Philosophia*—continued to be precisely what they were. The Tories remained what they always had been, the party of tradition and custom, of concentration and authority, of subordination and discipline, of the centripetal and associative forces, in opposition to those of a centrifugal and disintegrating tendency. But in their application, and when reduced to concrete form, the principles were, not indeed in set terms, but tacitly, a good deal modified. They were, so to speak, rationalised; they were purged and refined from the dross of unreasoning superstition; they were eased from the fetters of stolid immobility. Thus, though the Tories were still pre-eminently the monarchical party, their views on the kingly institution were greatly changed; they were Royalists still, but upon very different grounds. Again, they were still pre-eminently Churchmen; but their views on Church and State relations were not precisely what they were. These modifications of opinion, it is true, were not effected without some searchings of heart and mental tribulations, and by some—a stubborn minority—they were persistently rejected. The 'Old Guard'—for so they may be called—clung to the time-honoured doctrines with a fidelity that was pathetic indeed but scarcely wise. But the party as a whole was leavened with the new ferment of ideas. And, therefore, the distinctive mark or note of the politics of the Revolution period may be described as the relaxation of the associative forces, or the giving free play to the centrifugal. Progress, instead of order, became the dominant interest of the day. That the time was ripe for such a change—though it might have been retarded—is doubtless true; but it is certain that the dread of repression, engendered by the ultra-Tory party, precipitated the coming of events. Almost the whole nation longed to breathe the fresh breezes of expansion.

The slackening of the bonds of concentration displayed itself

in many different ways. The process appeared with a distinctness that was almost startling in the changes which occurred in Tory doctrine. Of these the most far-reaching and important were those relating to the foundations of the monarchy. The belief in the kingly institution as a necessary condition of the unity, the cohesion and the permanence of the nation lay at the very root of Toryism. It was the fountain-head from which the dogmas of divine right, passive obedience and non-resistance were derived. The events, therefore, of 1688 were apparently in flagrant contradiction to the principles which the Tory party had loudly and repeatedly professed. A more remarkable example of the surrender of a principle, which in contact with the hard actualities of life it was found impossible any longer to maintain, it would be difficult to find. Yet within a period to be measured by weeks the transformation was effected.

The Revolution of 1688, like the Restoration of 1660, was essentially a compromise. It was carried out by hard-headed men who treated politics as a kind of business. Just as Charles II. was restored by the Cavaliers with the co-operation of the more moderate of the Roundheads, so William III. was brought in by the Whigs with the assistance of those Tories who placed the national liberties above the narrow ends of party. It is but rarely that a statesman can calculate exactly the consequences of his acts, and it is certain that some at least of those who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange were eventually carried farther than they had ever dreamed of going. Among those who subscribed the fateful document were Danby and Compton, the Bishop of London. That Charles II.'s great minister and a leader of the Church should have co-operated in the initiation of the movement is, indeed, a fact of great significance. It showed that at least a section of Tories from the very first participated in the events that ended in placing William and Mary on the throne. In the later stages of the Revolution, when James was intimidated into flight and the control of affairs passed more and more into Whig hands, there were many Tories doubtless, who, terrified perhaps at the spectre they had raised, were more than half-inclined to retreat from the course upon which they were embarked. But it became impossible—and it was fortunate for the nation that it was so—that the

Whigs could ever claim the work of the Revolution as exclusively their own. Nor were the Tories free to disclaim responsibility for the Revolution settlement. That the majority of the party would have assented to the plan which was actually adopted it would, indeed, be rash to say ; for there was no means of gauging the opinion of the nation by a direct vote upon the subject. The Convention, however, was as fairly representative as any parliament elected upon a narrow basis could be, though its competence to alter the succession was boldly called in question.

The first sign of the slackening of the associative forces was immediately displayed in the Convention's declarations upon the principles of monarchy. Views, which a few years previously would have been held to be treasonable and subversive, were freely expressed and explicitly and solemnly declared to be constitutional and salutary. It was around questions of the nature of the monarchy that the chief controversies of the Convention mainly turned. How to find a way to reconcile the present wishes of the Tories with their previous declarations ; how to build a golden bridge to enable them to retreat from an untenable position—these were the difficult problems which the Convention had to solve. Throughout its proceedings the efforts of the Tories to find a way out of the dilemma are plainly to be traced. One section was for endeavouring to bring James back upon conditions ; another for appointing a regent in his place. Evelyn relates how he went to dine at Lambeth with the Primate, and met several of the bishops and some distinguished Tory laymen. The conversation turned upon the great question of the day over which the Convention so far had not been able to come to a decision. 'Some would have,' so he was informed, 'the Princesse made a Queene without any more dispute, others were for a regency ; there was a Tory party (as then so called) who were for inviting his Majesty again upon conditions.' These three alternative suggestions found supporters among the Tories ; but the majority preferred the proposal of the regency, as Evelyn says, 'thereby to salve their oaths.'[1] To the Tory attitude of mind it was peculiarly acceptable as involving the least violent breach of continuity. As Burnet truly says, 'they thought this would save the nation and yet secure the honour

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

of the Church of England, and the sacredness of the Crown'; 'for,' he says, 'a great deal was brought from both the laws and history of England to prove that not only the person but the authority of the King was sacred.'[1] But the proposals for recalling James back upon conditions, or for establishing a regency, were open to such insuperable objections that they were reluctantly abandoned. Even the third suggestion, which had the support of Danby and some other influential Tory leaders, that by James's abdication the Crown had devolved upon the Princess Mary, though it went far to assuage the wounded feelings of the Tories, turned out to be one which it was practically impossible to adopt. In the end, therefore, the solution that was eventually arrived at—the plan, that is to say, of conferring the crown upon William and the Princess jointly—was emphatically a Whig one tempered only by a *solatium* for the Tories. The settlement of the Crown upon the Princesses Mary and Anne and their issue was at least a partial recognition of the principle of succession by inheritance. And with that provision the Tories had to be content.

The Resolutions of the Convention that the power of the Crown was derived from an original contract between the sovereign and the people, and that the contract had been broken by James II., may be said to form a kind of watershed in English constitutional history. The original contract theory had since 1660 been implicitly negatived by several statutes and by the refusal of parliament to pass the Exclusion Bill; yet it was now solemnly declared to be a fundamental principle. It is no wonder that the Tories in the Convention stubbornly resisted the proposal to declare the throne to be vacant; for such a declaration seemed to make the Crown elective—which, indeed, on this occasion it became. The Whigs, on the other hand, desired to break the spell which the divine right theory had cast upon a great part of the nation, and they calculated rightly that a sharp snap in the links of the succession would deprive the spell of its potency to charm. There is no solvent for an untenable theory like the contact with incompatible and contradictory facts. The substitution of the contract theory for that of divine right was the central fact, the pivot, upon which the Revolution

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 378.

turned; it placed the monarchy on a new basis—it shifted, so to speak, the mental perspective of the nation. How profound was the change may be inferred from the way in which the Revolution was regarded by the French. The English, they declared, were acting like barbarians; and they emphasised their view in a very curious way—by proposing, that is to say, to give up the use of coffee, which they considered a popular English drink. For what occurred was nothing less than an example, conspicuous by its magnitude, of what Sir Henry Maine has called the movement from status to contract. The throne that English kings had formerly occupied by status, they were now supposed in theory to hold under compact and by mutual ties of obligation. Two theories, those respectively of divine right and of an original contract may be said to have competed, and the Revolution of 1688 marked the victory of the latter—a victory so complete that even Burke a century later never doubted that the theory was warranted by its correspondence with the actual facts of history. The Revolution, he declared, was the only means left for the recovery of the ancient constitution that had been 'formed by the original contract of the British state.'[1] Yet the one theory is not less an unsubstantial fabric than the other, and both have faded in the light of the new research. That both in their time performed a useful function perhaps no candid inquirer would deny. As Coleridge well said, 'the idea of a social contract works continually and efficaciously in the moral being of every free citizen, though in the greater number unconsciously, or with a dim and confused consciousness.'[2]

When the Convention rose from its sittings, it was discovered by the nation that the notion of the divinity of kings had been banished to the lumber-room of worn-out superstitions. Sir Robert Howard no doubt expressed the thoughts of the great majority of his audience when he said, 'I have heard that the King has his crown by divine right; but we, the people, have a divine right too. The government was grounded upon a compact with the people.'[3] Henceforward the divinity of kings lingered on

[1] Burke's *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*
[2] Coleridge's *Notes on English Divines,* vol. i. p. 15.
[3] Ranke's *History of England,* vol. iv. p. 495.

in the shadowy form of a romantic sentiment, a pleasing phantom that shunned contact with the hard logic of events. William's intelligence was of too robust a type to entertain a fiction, and it is significant that he steadily refused to allow his suffering subjects an opportunity of obtaining the benefits which the royal touch, so it was fondly imagined, was able to confer. The Association of Members of Parliament formed to defend his life from assassins did, indeed, speak of 'his Majesty's most sacred person and government'; but the words were not intended to be taken in too literal a sense. It is remarkable how quickly the divine right theory ceased to have any influence on affairs, and how completely the idea of the social contract dominated contemporary thought. Any doubts which the Convention left must have vanished before the trenchant logic of Locke's *Treatises on Government*. There was no one perhaps who expressed the new spirit of the age with greater freedom and more vigour than Defoe :—

> Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things,
> The good of subjects is the end of kings ;
> A great promiscuous crowd the Hydra lies,
> Till laws revive, and mutual contract ties.[1]

A decade previously he would have been a bold man who would have dared to utter sentiments like these.

If the first indication, then, of the slackening of the centrifugal forces was to be found in the general acceptance of the principle of contract as the basis of the monarchy, the second showed itself in the changed attitude of the Church towards the Crown and in relation to Dissent. A national faith ; uniformity of religious belief ; a State and Church bound together by mutual ties of defence and support ; a sovereign alike supreme in the domains of affairs both secular and spiritual : these and similar conceptions were the peculiar property of Churchmen who formed the backbone of the Tories. And if there was one section of the Tories more inflamed by a fiery partisanship than another, it was the clergy. The non-resistance doctrine was in a special sense their own ; and when James required the bishops to exhort his people to oppose the Prince of Orange, he only required them

[1] *The True-born Englishman.*

to act upon their own professions. Even Sharp, who had refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, when he preached before the Convention, read the appointed prayer for James II. because the House of Lords had not as yet concurred with the Commons in resolving that the throne had become vacant through James's abdication. The Acts of the Convention cut at the very roots of thought, and it is beyond question that it was the defection of Anglicanism which was the decisive fact that made the Revolution possible. For their conduct at this tremendous crisis the Tories, and especially the clergy, have been severely censured. 'The transaction,' writes Macaulay, for example, 'was in almost every part discreditable to England. . . . The resolutions on which the two Houses at last agreed were as bad as any resolutions for so excellent a purpose could be. Their feeble and contradictory language was evidently intended to save the credit of the Tories, who were ashamed to name what they were not ashamed to do.' But this criticism is expressed in too unqualified a manner to be scrupulously fair. The position of the Tories was in fact extraordinarily difficult; for events had gone so far that they either had, to all appearance at least, to contradict themselves, or to leave William entirely in Whig hands. Of the two alternatives the former seemed the less perilous to the welfare of the nation. The Tories reflected that there was a section of the Whigs of a republican tendency who wished to turn the Crown of England into a kind of life presidency, and thought that it was an easier step to no king from a wrong king than it was from a right one. The assent of the Tories to the resolution was perhaps in the case of many of them a *gran rifiuto*—a great renunciation which was the more patriotic because it exposed them to the taunt of amazing inconsistency. And no one, indeed, was more keenly conscious of the justness of the charge than many of the clergy. 'Whereas,' so runs a letter written after the event and attributed to a dean, 'Presbyterians and Commonwealth men (with some atheists and Latitudinarians who call themselves of our Church, though no otherwise than because it was established by law) were at the bottom of the whole contrivance of the Revolution, and derided us to see into what a noose they had brought us. Add to this a very fatal dilemma in which the Dissenters have caught us, and have

proved it amongst the people to our no small prejudice; for if we stick to passive obedience in the high sense, as it is contained in the homily against rebellion, we must condemn what we have done and what we still continue to do. But if we call that an error, then we own that our Church has been all along before this Revolution a false guide, and that the Dissenters have taught the truth, in this point of doctrine.'[1] A more frank and penitential confession of an error it would be difficult to find. Yet the fault of the Tories was not—what upon the surface it seemed to be—one of tergiversation and base surrender of a cause. In asserting the duty of non-resistance, they had in the first place overlooked the danger that lurks in universal propositions, and in the second, they had neglected to define clearly what they meant. It was quite possible to make some good defence for the Tories for deserting James II., and in fact some actually were made. The more moderate Tories truly said that upon the principle that the supreme law is the safety of the state, they had always admitted that in grave cases there might be exceptions to the rule. Others used arguments which were ingenious indeed, but showed clearly that the Tories as a body had never formed a clear conception of what was implied by the duty of non-resistance. Some said that as James had abdicated, he could not be resisted; others that they were bound only not to resist him, and they, therefore, were under no obligation to defend him; and others, again, that the Prince of Orange was not a subject, and, therefore, it was quite right for them to stand by and let him carry out his enterprise. More cogent was the argument that the scriptural exhortations to obey the powers that be referred to lawful governments only, and that since James II. had broken the laws, he was not a lawful governor to whom obedience was due. But there was one unassailable position to which the Tories did not have recourse, because it entirely escaped their notice. They might have said, as was afterwards said for them—that the lawful government of England was not the King's alone, but the King acting with the two legislative chambers; and that in resisting James II. they were not resisting the government at all. The real character of Church doctrine, wrote one of their defenders, is that 'obedience is a

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iv. (Second Collection), 'Querela Temporum.'

duty owing to settled governments administered by legal methods'; but this was very far from being the ante-Revolution theory. The fact is that the Tories had never formed a clear idea of what the word 'government' denoted in the English Constitution. The disasters which overtook the party afford a signal illustration of the dangers that wait upon confused thinking and nebulous assertions. In their endeavours to extricate themselves from an untenable position the Tories presented the undignified appearance of trying to cheat themselves by more or less ingenious arguments into the belief that their own statements in reality meant something quite different from what in plain language they expressed.

The new conception of the monarchy, as something held not by indefeasible title but by a revocable contract, was the essential fact established by the events of 1688; it was the first and most important indication that the forces of expansion were at work; it marked a fresh scene in what Ranke calls 'the greatest contest of universal history'—the contest, that is to say, between an autonomous monarchy and a parliamentary constitution. The *Declaration of Rights* put beyond all doubt what was the issue to which the contest was ultimately working out its way. The propositions that 'the pretended power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal'; or that 'the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of the laws by royal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal'; or that 'the raising or keeping a standing army within the Kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law'—these, and others like them, showed clearly that the English monarchy for the future was to be one indisputably of the limited and constitutional type. In the eternal and world-wide struggle between the forces of permanence and the forces of progression it became manifest that for a time at least the latter would predominate. Not that William was not sensitive on any question that affected his prerogative. He told Halifax that he had not the smallest intention to become a Doge of Venice, as the republican party apparently desired to make him; he declared that he came to preserve the liberties of England, and not to rob the monarchy

of its rights. He often said that the Crown would not be the worse for his wearing, though Tories, like Rochester, rather spitefully remarked that he had made it little better than a night-cap. Any attempt to clog his independence with regard to the choice of his ministers or to the exercise of his veto he strenuously resisted; and there were few things he more resented than the determination of the House of Commons to vote him a revenue for a term of years only, and not for life. The Whigs feared that he would 'grow arbitrary in his government' and 'strain for a high stretch of prerogative,' if he was given such a revenue; while William wearily remarked, 'that he was not a king, till that was done; without that, the title of a king was only a pageant,' and that 'he was sure, the worst of all Governments was that of a king without treasure and without power.'[1] Nor did the Tories, who had qualms of conscience about the validity of his title, help him here; they thought it better policy from a party point of view to let him become disgusted with the Whigs. On two occasions during William's reign serious questions touching the prerogative arose. The first was brought about by a resolution of the House of Commons in 1695 for the creation of a Council of Trade, the members of which were to be nominated by parliament. This proposal was thought by many to be, says Burnet, 'a change in our constitution in a very essential point'; as an encroachment, that is to say, on the principle that the executive was wholly in the King; and it was feared that the King 'would soon grow to be a Duke of Venice.' William ordered his ministers to offer the proposal their strenuous opposition, which one of them, the Earl of Sunderland, declined to do, for fear of offending the republican section of the Whigs. 'Here,' observes Burnet, 'was a debate plainly in a point of prerogative, how far the Government should continue on its ancient bottom of monarchy as to the executive part; or how far it should turn to a Commonwealth; and yet by an odd reverse the Whigs, who were now most employed, argued for the prerogative, while the Tories seemed jealous for public liberty.' 'So powerfully,' he very truly adds, 'does interest bias men of all forms.'[2] The second occasion, in 1701, was one of much more serious import. The treaties of partition were

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 60. [2] *Ibid.* p. 294.

made by the King without the knowledge of his ministers or council. Whether Burnet is strictly right in saying that by constitutional practice all foreign negotiations were entrusted entirely to the Crown, and that there was no obligation on the King to consult his ministers or to follow their advice, we need not here inquire. The mere fact that William's action gave rise to great complaint is a significant indication with what increasing speed a great constitutional change was steadily and silently advancing. As the years rolled on, parliament extended more and more the long arm of its control over the sphere of the executive, and, so to speak, annexed it to the existing area of its legislative functions. And though William accepted the Crown subject to the conditions defined by the *Declaration of Rights*, he was resolved to keep intact the prerogatives which he conceived were still preserved to him. The embers of the old conflict between the King and parliament still smouldered and occasionally burst out into flames.

This is not the place to attempt to delineate the character of William. Whether he be regarded, as his whole-hearted admirers would regard him, as

> the noblest man
> That ever lived in the tide of times;

or whether he be placed upon a much less exalted level, questions such as these do not concern us here. But for the purpose now in hand it is of some interest to consider how far he was possessed of any attributes which would commend him to the Tories. Anyone at first sight less likely to be acceptable to them than a Dutchman and a Calvinist it would be difficult to imagine. Yet his jealousy for his prerogatives and his desire to be to a large extent his own foreign if not his own prime minister, were characteristics that pleased a party which liked to see a king exercising a strong and personal rule. William would be no *roi fainéant*; and that at any rate was a virtue that the Tories could appreciate.

William governed with a vigour that showed that the so-called 'limitations' fettered his action very little. At the very beginning he revealed his intentions by composing his own speech to be delivered at the opening of parliament. 'I know,' he said, 'most of my predecessors were used to commit the drawing of

such speeches to their ministers who generally had their private ends and interests in view.'[1] Independence and detachment were the keynotes of his policy. When in 1689 the House of Commons made difficulties about the passing of the Bill of Indemnity, he cut the Gordian knot by authorising an Act of Grace to be presented to parliament; and passed it was without debate. William's indulgence was ill received, and it was whispered that he overlooked the delinquencies of the ministers of previous reigns because he desired to have obsequious servants and to have 'a set of prerogative men about him.' In the House of Commons—where a resolution was passed that a pardon is not pleadable to an impeachment—much dissatisfaction was expressed. 'If,' said Sir Henry Capel, 'the King's ministers, after ill administration in their places, may plead their pardons, you have not one king, but twenty. I would have but one king, and the ministers who are our fellow-subjects are questionable as ourselves.'[2] In his use of the veto William certainly went further than the Stewarts had ever ventured. He refused his assent to Bills for charging the salaries of the judges on the hereditary revenues, for making the possession of landed property a necessary qualification for members of the Lower House, for triennial parliaments, and for the exclusion of placemen. His action in withdrawing foreign negotiations from the cognisance of ministers was the immediate and proximate cause of an insertion in the Act of Settlement of a provision that was intended to secure in future reigns ministerial responsibility for all great acts of State. So strong, indeed, was the feeling of the nation on the subject that even ministers themselves were incited to assert their influence more strongly. 'It was plain,' says Burnet, 'they resolved to govern him in everything, and not to be governed by him in any one thing.' And if the same authority may be credited, they were not without warrant in coming to some such resolution. William, he says, 'was so apt to think that his ministers might grow insolent, if they should find that they had much credit with him, that he seemed to have made it a maxim, to let them often feel how little power they had, even in small matters.'[3] Yet the Tories viewed

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 403.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 287.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 565.

with no less disfavour than before any open assertion of a curtailment of the authority of the Crown. When a clause was proposed in the Abjuration Bill, asserting the maintenance of 'the Government in King, Lords and Commons' it was indignantly rejected. This was declared to be 'a bare-faced Republican notion,' for, though the Lords and Commons were, indeed, a part of the constitution, 'the Government was only in the King.'[1] So readily do men build screens of words whereby to hide their eyes from facts.

It has already been remarked that parliament resolved to grant William a revenue for a limited period only. The resolution was approved as well by the Tories as the Whigs; for both parties had good reason to remember that Charles II. and his brother, to whom revenues for life were granted, had made use of their financial independence to rid themselves of parliamentary control. 'We may date our misery from our bounty here,' said Sir Edward Seymour, in the course of the debate; 'there are some alive,' said Sir Joseph Williamson, 'that know all and have felt that when princes have not needed money, they have not needed us.'[2] William naturally was much aggrieved at not receiving the treatment to which he thought himself entitled—to being placed 'as it were on board wages,' as somebody observed; and it certainly appeared to be neither generous nor gracious to refuse to him what Charles and James had obtained without demur. But he was in too close contact with events to see that with his acceptance of the Crown a new stage had been reached in constitutional development. In the long struggle between the monarchy and parliament over their respective spheres of power another victory fell to the parliamentary side. The fact was emphasised in 1694, when the revenue for the King was renewed, by the deliberate action of the House of Commons, in causing a period of a day to intervene between the expiry of the old grant and the beginning of the new one. Nor was this all. In the successful claim of the popular chamber to examine the Government estimates for the next year's public services, and the control of the expenditure of money already

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 552.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 147; Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. p. 11.

granted, the operation of the centrifugal forces was plainly to be seen. The tone of William's first speech to parliament seems to indicate a consciousness that things were not exactly as they had been. His assurance that he would never do anything that might justly lessen their good opinion of him is suggestive of a willingness on his part to assume quite a deferential attitude. Yet ever and anon throughout his reign the tone of deference was exchanged for that of censure or command. Of his use of the veto some mention has been made. And it is, indeed, of no small interest to watch the relations of William to his parliaments. Mutual jealousies were commingled with a desire on either side to effect a working compromise. When, for instance, in 1699 the House of Commons passed a resolution that it would conduce to an entire confidence between the King and the House if he would show his displeasure towards those who misrepresented to him their proceedings, he replied that the happiness of an English King depended upon an entire confidence between him and his parliaments, and promised to visit with marks of his displeasure those persons who were guilty of the misrepresentation of which complaints were made.[1] Yet the difference between William and his parliaments was less profound than it might appear upon the surface. Both desired the government to be strong and free from weakening and disintegrating influences, and the question was, therefore, really one of the depositary of power or the seat of sovereignty. It is curious to observe that it was rather the Tories than the Whigs who showed the greatest zeal for the maintenance of parliamentary freedom from popular interference or control. On the other hand, the less absolute and arbitrary the Tories saw the Crown become, the more anxious were they to magnify the House of Commons, to extend its privileges and to amplify its powers. Toryism standing for strong and concentrated government, the exaltation of the House of Commons became by natural consequence an essential Tory principle. If the Crown was not the centre of authority, then, so it was argued, the House of Commons must be. And, therefore, there was no section of the House more keenly alive to the preservation of parliamentary privileges than the Tories. The whole question arose, if it may be permitted to anticipate a

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 1201.

little, in a very pointed and interesting manner over the question of instructions from constituencies to their parliamentary representatives. Towards the close of William's reign the electors in several constituencies, notably in Buckinghamshire and Cornwall, began the novel practice of instructing.[1] In the former county they went so far as to 'exhort, charge and require' their representatives, and it is not wonderful that such peremptory language excited much attention. Writing in 1692, John Hampden observed that 'there is not a body of men in the world who have so noble a trust reposed in them as that which is in the House of Commons from the people of England . . . other countries limit their representatives with instructions and orders. . . . But in England the case is quite otherwise; the people of this nation do entirely put themselves and their concerns in the hands of their representatives in Parliament!'[2] Ten years later, attempts were made to follow what Hampden says was the practice of various foreign States. The Tories strongly resented the introduction of methods which appeared to them to undermine the authority of parliament; and a committee appointed to inquire into parliamentary privileges reported in favour of refusing to receive instructions from electors. The same committee also went on to affirm that the Lower House was the sole representative of the people, that it should not be attacked in the public prints, and that it had the right to imprison those who tried to influence its action by petitions. A Whig majority, on the other hand, succeeded in carrying an assertion of the principle that the people have the right to petition the Crown to dissolve parliament and to summon a fresh one in its place. It is perhaps not too much to say that during the last decade of the seventeenth century the Tories, driven from their old positions, sought to entrench themselves behind the authority of parliament. The old shibboleths of divine right and passive obedience were exchanged for a new one of parliamentary privilege.

Together with the altered conceptions of the status of the monarchy came a great change in the character and position of the Tories. They fell at once into the condition of a disunited

[1] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. v. p. 14.

[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. Appendix ix.: 'Some Short Considerations concerning the State of the Nation,' by John Hampden.

and discredited party. The ultra-Tories, as we have called them, whose total disregard of national sentiment had brought on the Revolution, wrecked the party, once so powerful, beyond all expectation of repair. The split, long widening between them and the old school of Cavaliers, became visible to all men; the disagreement grew into an open war. Through the unpatriotic conduct of a small but powerful section the whole party sank deep in public estimation. Already in the Convention, among the moderate and constitutional Tories at least three different groups appeared, each with its own specific plans for the solution of the problem of the settlement. No sooner was it made, than a new and an even more serious split occurred. Partly from sympathy for James II. and partly from conscientious scruples, a section of the genuine Tories repented of the part that it had played, and holding aloof from the main body, which reluctantly accepted the new order of affairs, formed the germ of that ill-starred and stubborn group, the Jacobites. Nor was this all. The remnant who were the lineal heirs of the old Tory school, and carried on the heritage of its traditions, were profoundly discouraged and perplexed. They had to serve upon old principles a king, whose title upon those very principles was gravely open to dispute. The government of the Revolution period was carried on in consonance with Whig principles tempered with an infusion of Tory sentiment; and that was not a situation in which the Tory party was likely to appear to much advantage. In a word, the Tories throughout occupied a false position. 'It is,' says a tractarian writing in 1701, 'methinks, hard to say, how a faction blended with such a number of names noted for their inveteracy to the true Tory principles can be called a Tory party.'[1] That was a thought which must have sometimes passed through many minds. A position already difficult enough was made infinitely more so by the machinations of the Whigs, who showed no scruple in the pursuit of party ends. To impale their opponents on the horns of a seeming dilemma was a piece of strategy to which they eagerly resorted. To make the Tories act as Whigs, or else appear as Jacobites; to make them contradict their former principles, or else defend them

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v., Appendix: 'Jura Populi Anglicani.'

at the risk of losing the favour of the Court, was an obvious device which lay ready to their hands. And they unscrupulously used it to destroy the Tory credit. The fact is that the events of 1688 formed an entirely new departure in the history of English party politics. 'The Tories stopped short,' says Bolingbroke of this epoch, 'in the pursuit of a bad principle. The Whigs reformed the abuse of a good one. Both had sacrificed their country to their party. Both sacrificed on this occasion their party to their country. . . . The Revolution was a fire which purged off the dross of both parties, and the dross being purged off, they appeared to be the same metal, and answered the same standard.' Though it may, indeed, be allowed that on both sides some sacrifice was made, yet it is to be feared that some particles of dross still continued to adhere. And when Bolingbroke asserts that 'the proper and real distinction of the two parties expired at this era,' though 'their ghosts have continued to haunt and divide us,' it is impossible to agree with so unqualified a statement. For real distinctions still remained, and the old parties lived on in a much more lively and substantial form than that of ghosts. They were divided, so Bolingbroke continues, 'not so much by overt acts committed, as by the apprehensions which each of them entertained of the intentions of the other,' and in even stronger terms he adds, they were not 'what they believed one another, nor what they have been represented by their enemies, nay, by their friends.'[1] Any view of English parties would be partial and defective that failed to recognise their comprehensiveness. Even during the reign of Charles II. there were Whigs as well as Tories who were zealous for the Church, while in the Tory ranks space was found for the absolutist Tories who brought ruin on their colleagues. In the composition of parties there is room for development and for diversified growth. There is no rigid immobility; with changed circumstances old opinions and old supporters are cast out, while some that are new are brought in and adopted. A party is like an ever-changing river into which, as it flows, many streams bring the tribute of their waters. It was thus in 1688 and the succeeding years that fresh influences poured in and profoundly affected the main course of Tory principles. Upon the

[1] Bolingbroke, *Dissertation on Parties*, letters v. and vii.

mass of previously existing party differences there was now superimposed a new one arising from the question of the succession of the Crown. The dispute became to a large extent dynastic, and domestic politics were even drawn into the continental vortex. No better definition, therefore, of Whig and Tory after the Revolution can be devised than that of Hume. The latter, he said, is 'a lover of monarchy, though without abandoning liberty, and a partisan of the family of Stuart'; the former is 'a lover of liberty, though without renouncing monarchy, and a friend of the settlement in the Protestant line.'[1] On the broad questions of civil liberty and royal power, the two parties henceforward approached one another very nearly; but on questions of religion the Tories continued to be the supporters of the Church in a position of pre-eminence and power, while the Whigs treated the Dissenters with moderation and even with benevolence. Again, as formerly, while the Tories liked a territorial aristocracy and a government controlled by aristocratic influences, the Whigs drew their strength and inspiration from the new men, the mercantile class and the moneyed interest. It may, therefore, upon the whole be said that the Whigs succeeded in maintaining their original character unimpaired to an extent that was impossible for the Tories. The latter for this reason were doubtless placed at a relative disadvantage, and the history of Toryism from the Revolution to the accession of Queen Anne is to a large extent a record of their struggles to escape from this position.

The fortunes of the Tories to an almost incalculable extent depended upon the attitude which William III. took up towards them. This grave reserved Dutchman, a born diplomat, and with eyes keenly fixed upon the larger stage of European politics, was able to approach the affairs of English parties with dispassionate detachment. That was fortunate for the Tories. He is said to have remarked that he believed that the Whigs loved him best, but that they did not love the monarchy; and that the Tories did not like him so well, but were zealous for the monarchy. It did not require much penetration to perceive that while the Tories disparaged his title, the Whigs disparaged his prerogative. So that he had not much reason to place great

[1] Hume's *Essay on the Origin of English Parties.*

confidence in either. The argument that he had tried to rescue James II. from the hands of wicked counsellors was hardly likely to appease those who still adhered to the fallen monarch's cause; and it did not. They felt remorse that the innocent should suffer. Shrewsbury, indeed, bluntly told him that of the Tories in general, he must remember that he was not their king. On the other hand the Whigs gave him grave reason for offence. They wished to make him nothing more than their own party leader; they tried to subordinate his authority to that of parliament. He once bitterly remarked, 'that they fear to lose me before they have attained their ends of me.' Add to this that his was one of those proud natures which find it easier by far to forgive an injury than to sustain the weight of obligation. He recoiled, therefore, from the notion of owing anything to the Whig politicians who posed as in a special sense his friends. But beyond everything he feared that section of the Whigs which was credited with holding republican opinions, and had, so he thought, designs to make him a kind of Doge of Venice. That there was a section of the Whigs which desired to erect an English commonwealth, it is impossible to doubt. We hear of the existence of a republican group in the House of Commons, which used to meet at the Rose Tavern near Temple Bar, and was, therefore, called the Rose Club.[1] Republican literature again was said to be in much demand. The 'Fourth Party' of modern days seem actually to have had a forerunner, though one, indeed, of a very different kind. For, writes a pamphleteer, 'the Whigs do also fortify themselves by the fourth party, viz. the Republicans or Commonwealth men.' It is little wonder that William felt disposed to hold aloof from a party which he suspected of being leavened to an unknown extent by republican opinions. Still less is it to be marvelled at that, distrusting both parties, he exerted all the diplomatic skill at his command to set off the one against the other. 'Divide and rule' was the maxim, cynical perhaps, but upon which he felt justified in acting. For after an experience of ten years' reign he declared with a grim humour, and his face lit up, as we may suppose, with a characteristic wintry smile, that all the difference he knew between the two parties was, that the Tories would cut his throat in the

[1] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. ii. p. 436.

morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon. The political controversies of the Revolution period, if less stained by violence and passion than in the two preceding reigns, were in fact more than usually disfigured by that cankering vice of party government, insincerity, and the shameless pursuit of self-interested ends. Both parties loved to bask in the warm rays of royal favour, and both courted their dispenser. When the Tories discovered, for example, that, whatever their objections, the Crown would be conferred on William, they resolved to make a virtue of what they were unable to prevent. They 'fell,' says a writer taking a retrospective glance from the year 1714, 'in very zealously with his interest, boasting themselves to be the only men for monarchy, that they always defended the prerogatives of the Crown, which they did on two accounts, the one to ingratiate themselves with him by their flatteries; the other to render him odious to the people as affecting an absolute power.'[1] It was a calculation not without a Machiavellian touch.

There are few things more remarkable in English political history than the persistency with which the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' have survived all the various turns of fortune and the transformations which parties have undergone. That they should have lived beyond the seventeenth century is more than those who first heard them used in the reign of Charles II. would have ventured to anticipate. And yet by the beginning of the reign of William III. this strange political nomenclature had firmly taken root. In an interesting passage Burnet speaks of 'the high party,' which, he says, he will hereafter call the Tories, while he will style the other party Whigs. 'I must use them,' he continues, 'they being now become so common as if they had been words of our language.'[2] And yet it was at one time not improbable that the old terms of 'court' and 'country' parties might have been revived and have permanently entered into the language of political terminology. Evelyn, for instance, notes in his *Diary* in 1699, that the 'prevailing part in the House called Courtiers, outvoted the complaints, not by being more in

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii., 'The False Steps of the Ministry after the Revolution.'

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 6.

number, but by the country party being negligent in attendance'; and again in the following year he relates how a conflict with the House of Lords resulted in a 'greate triumph of the Commons and country party, but high regret of the Court.'[1] But however that may be, the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory,' 'Court' and 'Country,' were, it is evident, simultaneously in use. During the whole of William's reign there was, moreover, a good deal of party cross-division. Those who filled official places were distinguished from those who only hoped to fill them, and were therefore rather happily nicknamed the 'Grumbletonians.' Irrespective of the fact that they were Whigs or Tories, as the case might be, those in office were said to belong to the 'Court,' and those out of it to the 'Country' party. 'This Parliament,' wrote a correspondent to Robert Harley in 1690, 'seems divided at present with Tories, Whigs, Court Whigs and Tory Whigs, which are the names at present given us.'[2] Add to these subsections the Nonjurors and the Jacobites, and it will be seen how blurred and confused were the lines of party cleavage. Even a new term, 'Williamite,' was forged to designate those who took a particular view of the King's title to the throne. From this confusion sprang a rich crop of misunderstandings, misrepresentations, intrigues and hypocrisies, and the result was disenchanting. Even so hot a Whig as Burnet seems to have gazed at the turmoil with something like despair. The jealousies of parties, he declared, would never be cured, 'till a prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure.'[3]

Such very briefly are the main outlines revealed by a rapid survey of the period now before us. It remains to trace in greater detail the devious course of Tory policy.

In forming his first ministry William followed the old plan of selecting men of different parties. Difficult, indeed, was his task, and he must often have had too much reason to realise the truth of the saying of his great French contemporary, that every time he gave away a vacant place, he made a hundred men discontented and one ungrateful. But a king who owed

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.
[2] Foxcroft's *Life of the Marquis of Halifax*, vol. ii. p. 141, *note*.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. vi. pp. 222–224.

his crown to a compromise of parties, in distributing his offices, was bound to bear that fact in mind. Although, therefore, the Whigs obtained the lion's share, the Tories were not overlooked. The Treasury was put into commission, but the first place, that of the Presidency of the Council, was conferred upon that old and experienced minister, Danby, who had led the Tories in the reign of Charles II. For over ten years he had been out of office, and of those years he had chafed for five under confinement in the Tower. His ambitions were vast, his energy restless, his industry enormous; so that even after a long period of comparative eclipse, he was still a force with whom William had to reckon. To the King's gratitude, moreover, his claims were great; for he had not only brought about his marriage by his dexterous diplomacy, but had played a leading part in the peaceful revolution that had placed him on the throne. That debt of gratitude William did something to discharge by placing him in one of the highest offices of state and by creating him Marquis of Carmarthen. To the great body of Tories his appointment was welcome as a clear recognition of the influence of their party in the State; but to the Whigs it was equally distasteful. A Tory of any kind in office was not a sight that they were disposed to view with favour, and least of all was Carmarthen the man to conciliate their feelings. Soured by disappointment—for the lucrative post of Lord High Treasurer was the object of his hopes—and rendered irritable by his physical infirmities, he rather provoked than allayed the antipathies that a party leader is always certain to encounter. If Burnet may be believed, he 'meddled little and complained of everything that was done,' and in proud isolation did nothing but indulge in arrogant and depreciatory criticism.[1] Under more favourable circumstances his former impeachment and imprisonment might well have been forgotten; but Carmarthen's faults of temper stimulated his opponents to turn to political account their memories of the past. 'When we reflect,' for instance, said Colonel Granville in 1690, in the House of Commons, 'upon the arbitrary actions and counsels by the Marquis of Carmarthen in King William's time, it reminds us of the same

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 121; Supplement, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 313.

actions in King Charles II.'s time. I have heard of his merits in the Revolution—a private life would have better become him, and been more for his interest. At one leap, from being prisoner in the Tower to be President of the Council sticks with me.' [1]

The second place in the Government—that of Lord Privy Seal—was conferred upon Halifax, and as William used to say that he was himself a Trimmer, between the two men there must have been some affinity of temperament. And certainly there was no one better fitted than Halifax to fill a place in a coalition government. For the rest, the offices conferred on Tories were, with one exception, of a minor kind. Godolphin was made a Commissioner of the Treasury, and at the Admiralty Sir John Lowther filled a similar position. The exception was that of the Earl of Nottingham, who, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury, was chosen to be a Secretary of State. Of all William's selections this of Nottingham was perhaps the most significant and important. The son of the distinguished Lord Chancellor who died in 1682, he slipped by prescriptive right, as it were, into the position of a leader of the Tories; and of all the influential members of the party there was no one who stood higher in reputation for integrity of character. His appearance and deportment were more striking than attractive. A tall, gaunt man, of ungraceful proportions, clad usually in an ill-fitting rusty brown coat, his swarthy countenance habitually shaded by a sad and serious mien, he irresistibly reminded those who saw him of a dignified and solemn Spanish nobleman. To the satirist and lampooner he fell a natural prey; being variously known as 'Dismal,' 'Don Dismallo,' 'Don Diego,' or 'Orator Dismal of Nottinghamshire.' His talents were rather of the safe than brilliant kind; and his undoubted oratorical gift was marred by a tendency to monotonous prolixity. He spoke, says a contemporary, 'long but most lawyer-like.' [2] Yet by sheer force of character he won easily and long retained a position in the counsels of his party of extraordinary influence. He was honourable, prudent and sagacious. When the design, for instance, of inviting the Prince of Orange was

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. p. 143.

[2] *Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 232.

opened to him, after some hesitation he refused to participate, though he assured them that they might entirely rely upon his secrecy. Their confidence was not misplaced. 'Lord Nottingham,' said Carmarthen, 'is the only man in England who can appear at Court, and yet not discover the concern he is under.[1] To his excellence of character there can be no surer witness than Burnet. Writing at a time when party prejudice had not entirely warped his judgement, he declared that Nottingham was the worthiest man he knew; that he was 'the heir of his father's virtues and knowledge, as well as of his honours'; that 'his life was in all parts regular and exemplary'; that he was 'a man of great application and true judgment'; that he had 'a considerable tincture of learning, true exactness of judgment, great integrity and truth.'[2]

Such was Nottingham—rough-hewn perhaps, but one of those high-hearted and noble-minded men of whom any party might be proud to have among its leaders. His inclusion, therefore, in his first ministry was one of the wisest things that William ever did. It went far to disarm the fears and suspicions of the Tories. To the strong Churchmen, in particular, the appointment of Nottingham served as a kind of guarantee that what they held most dear would not be rudely over-ridden. For though he was sufficiently broad-minded to be tolerant and even to be willing to accept some scheme of comprehension, he was devoted to the interests of the Church. In order, therefore, as Burnet bluntly put it, 'not to provoke so great a body too much, it was thought advisable to employ the Earl of Nottingham.' His employment, indeed, at this critical juncture was an event of great importance in the history of Toryism, for it kept within the party very many who would otherwise have drifted into Jacobitism. 'I reckon,' writes Burnet, without exaggeration, 'I do not exceed the severe rules of history when I say that Nottingham's being in the ministry, together with the effects, preserved the Church and then the Crown.'[3]

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. part i. book v. p. 24.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, Supplement, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 290.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 4; Supplement, edited by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 314.

William's act was no less daring than sagacious ; but the way of courage proved, as it often does, to be the way of truest wisdom. He reaped his reward in a reign of unexpected calmness. The relations which existed between Nottingham and his Sovereign reflect the highest honour upon both. For though the Earl was averse from giving the crown to William and argued strongly for a regency, he admitted his unselfish purity of motive ; and though he would not help to make him King, he was prepared, he said, to obey him when made King, without any reservations. And the King on his side fully trusted one whose frank opposition he respected.

William's first ministry might be described as Whig tempered with sops thrown to gratify the Tories. It was an ill team to drive. Writing to the King in 1689, the Earl of Shrewsbury remarked, 'I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest-principled men of both parties.'[1] But party antagonisms were too stubborn to be so easily blended. While, on the one hand, the Tories thought that Nottingham would press 'prerogative notions' on the King, the Whigs, on the other, fancied that he would try to prejudice the royal mind to the disadvantage of themselves. The latter at any rate were disappointed in not obtaining a monopoly of office It was a Whig saying that 'the game which King James had harboured in his park must be driven out from that of King William; the park-keepers, too, must be changed.' And though political party-leaders are usually wiser than their followers, things moved uneasily within the narrow circle of the Government. The President of the Council was himself very far from being a tranquillising element, though his colleague, Sir John Lowther, in contrast with Burnet, was unstinting in his praise. 'Since the King came in,' he said, in the House of Commons in 1690, 'no man could apply himself with more industry, with that tender constitution of his, being eight hours together in the day of business. If dexterity of management could expiate, he has done as much as man can do, both for Church and State.'[2] Then the Whig members had some old scores to pay off against the Lord Privy Seal; for he it was,

[1] Cooke's *History of Party*, vol. i. p. 509.
[2] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 647.

they remembered, who had done more than anyone else to defeat the Exclusion Bill, and was responsible to some extent for the policy of suppressing borough charters. As for Mordaunt, the First Commissioner of the Treasury, if Burnet is to be believed, he 'set up cabals everywhere in order to the breaking of the prerogative, and the putting all Tories out of employment.'

A Government thus torn by intestine party conflict reflected very clearly the condition of the nation. It became manifest at once that though both the great parties had united to bring about a peaceful revolution, the old differences were, if anything, rather sharpened than allayed. In parliament the voice of dissension was soon raised in strident tones. Almost immediately, indeed, a question of the first magnitude arose—one that was destined to be fatal to the unity and concord of the Tories. Already during the two preceding reigns a serious divergence between the moderate and the absolutist sections had occurred. But as though this was not bad enough, an event now happened that rent even the moderates in twain. The law which turned the Convention into a parliament, provided that no person should sit or vote in either House without having first taken the oaths of allegiance to the King and Queen. The terms of the oaths were prescribed by the Declaration of Rights, in a form modified to suit the altered circumstances, by the omission of the words 'rightful and lawful' in mentioning the Sovereign. It was probably supposed that the modification would satisfy the conscientious scruples of those who believed that James II. was still their 'rightful and lawful' King. And so in the great majority of cases of the Peers and members of parliament it did. Yet the imposing of the oaths, with all its far-reaching consequences, threw into bright relief the fact that it was still a question relating to the monarchy, which continued to be the great disruptive force in English politics. The theory of the divine right of kings had, indeed, except for a few enthusiasts, faded in the light of growing knowledge; but the subject now took another form. Was William a king *de jure* or *de facto*? and if the latter, could the oath of allegiance to a king with a *de facto* title be rightly taken? Could those, moreover, who had formerly sworn allegiance to James

transfer their fealty to William? These were troublesome questions, and throughout the new reign they bulked large in the background behind the small disputes which too often consumed the energies of parties. They were questions so insistent as to cause a profound difference to arise among the Tories. A statute of Henry VII. provided that allegiance to a *de facto* sovereign should never be construed as treason to one who is sovereign *de jure*; and the provision quieted the consciences of many. 'I hope,' said William in his speech to the House of Commons on the subject, 'you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve'; but it was not a matter to be solved by the simple application of good will. And even those who took the oaths were not quite easy in their minds. It is remarkable, indeed, how anxious those who took the oaths were to find occasions for declaring that William was sovereign both *de jure* and *de facto*. When, for instance, in 1696 associations were formed in parliament for the defence of the King against assassination, the words 'rightful and lawful' were inserted in the articles. To the employment of these words objection was raised not only in the House of Commons but also in the House of Lords, and in the latter it was eventually resolved that the words should be omitted and a clause substituted to the effect that King William had the right by law to the Crown and that King James and the pretended Prince of Wales had no right whatsoever.[1] So, too, in 1690 it was declared by the Act of Recognition that William and Mary 'were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen.' A similar intention was revealed in the two Abjuration Bills introduced in the House of Lords and the House of Commons respectively. For to abjure the exiled monarch was in effect to deny that he had any title whatsoever. Lastly upon the death of James in 1701, when Louis XIV. recognised the Pretender, an Abjuration Act was passed which called on the clergy to abjure James and to declare William to be 'rightful and lawful' King. It is notable that upon all these occasions the debates were in fact a trial of strength between

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 991; Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 346.

the Whigs and Tories, and that while the former were all for strengthening William's title, the latter were exceedingly averse from any legislation which would compel them to declare in unambiguous terms against the rights of James II. The same divergence of opinion showed itself in another curious way. Whenever the terms 'heirs and successors' of the King were named in any parliamentary Bill, the Tories always argued that the word 'heirs' should be omitted. For a king *de facto*, so they held, might have successors but not heirs. In a word, throughout the reign of William, it was a difference of view upon the monarchy which in the last resort divided parties. The essential fact might be obscured temporarily by minor issues, but it was there, notwithstanding, all the time. To modern readers the whole dispute seems rather vain. The absurdity of holding that a person can have a right to a throne which the nation will not let him occupy, does not seem to have occurred to anybody's mind. It was precisely this fundamental issue that tore away from the main body of the Tories that small and interesting fragment, the Nonjurors. It is a remarkable fact that at this time in English history the Tories displayed a more fissiparous tendency than the Whigs. To the ultra-Tory, popish and absolutist group there has already been occasion to refer, and in the persons of the Nonjurors a third section was created. The Whigs comprehended in their ranks many men of widely-differing opinions, but they had just that amount of unanimity which was enough to enable them to work with fair harmony together. Their domestic feuds were not fundamental; they were capable of compromise. It was otherwise with the Tories.

The origin of the sect of the Nonjurors may be traced to the enactment which provided that no member of either House of Parliament should sit or vote until he had first taken the oaths to the new King and Queen. The great majority complied. What course the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester would take was a question that aroused no small amount of curiosity. For both had opposed what appeared to them an unwarranted usurpation of the rights of the Crown. Rochester submitted, but Clarendon was obdurate. His conduct, which doubtless increased his reputation 'for conscientious scrupulosity,

does credit to his nice regard for the dictates of honour, and is worth a brief consideration. For of the nonjuring laymen Clarendon may be taken as the type. There are few more instructive comments than those which with evident spontaneity he passed upon the bishops who, to his indignation, took the oaths. The entries in his *Diary*, written without premeditation, not only reveal the man but throw no small amount of light upon the kind of thoughts which were fermenting in men's minds. He records, for instance, a conversation which he held with the Bishop of St. Asaph. 'I told him,' he says, 'I could not take them; thinking myself bound by the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which I had already taken. He told me those others did no longer oblige me, than the King, to whom I took them could protect me; and that I was free from my allegiance to King James; and that these new oaths were no more than to live quietly under King William; and he would fain have persuaded me to take them. . . . Strange doctrine, as I thought, from a Bishop.' Again, after hearing from the same prelate that he thought that the fact that the Prince of Orange had been crowned, 'did beget a right,' he confessed that he could with difficulty restrain his anger; 'but really,' he declares, 'to hear clergymen in these days so vary in their practice from what themselves have formerly taught, as if we were to change our principles as often as they change their humours, would give provocations.' And so, too, when he heard Dr. Tenison admit that there had been irregularities in the Revolution, and that he could have wished things had been otherwise, yet that the best must be made of them and the government supported, for fear of worse: 'strange doctrine!' is the comment that he passes.[1]

Among those who did not present themselves to take the oaths in the House of Lords were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft, and several other prelates. Their conduct attracted much attention. It occasioned, says Evelyn, 'the wonder of many who observed with what zeal they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending again to the absent King; that they

[1] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer.

should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.'[1] It was perhaps just because the ultra-Tories and the Papists derived some satisfaction from the conduct of the prelates who abstained, that the Whigs, who were in no humour to conciliate the Tories, made use of their dominant position in parliament to pass an Act which probably produced more far-reaching effects than they imagined. It provided that all beneficed clergymen and all persons holding academical offices must take the oaths before a certain date on pain of deprivation. No such oaths had ever been exacted from the clergy and academical officers on the accession of a sovereign, and it may well be doubted whether an Act of this kind was really necessary now. But it gave the Whigs an opportunity to sow discord in the ranks of their opponents, and that, from the party point of view, was argument enough. The enactment was, in fact, the imposition of a novel shibboleth or test by which, so it was alleged by its proposers, the loyal adherents of King William could be infallibly distinguished. Experience showed that the calculation was a wrong one. Most of those who refused the oaths never actively resisted the government *de facto*, while some of those who did take them were secretly disloyal. But the Whigs could not disguise their satisfaction at what was, for the Tories, a serious embarrassment.

The Nonjurors were, by reason of the provisions of the Act, composed almost solely of men in holy orders. They were quite a small minority, numbering scarcely more than four hundred at the most. It has been calculated that of the clergy about twenty-nine thirtieths, some readily and some sullenly, submitted. Of those who refused, some undoubtedly were in the front rank of their profession. Dr. Sancroft's scruples of conscience were shared by seven of the Bishops. It is noteworthy that of the seven bishops who in 1687 were imprisoned for refusing to comply with the orders of their Sovereign there were only two now who submitted to the law. The remaining five declared their unfaltering allegiance to a monarch whom only two years before they felt constrained to disobey. Nay

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

more, by refusing at the request of James II. to express their abhorrence of the expedition of the Prince of Orange, they helped in no small degree to bring about the Revolution. Yet with a strange inconsistency they continued to maintain the universal validity of doctrines to which in practice they had admitted an exception.

To Sancroft, whom a hard destiny had called to fill the primacy of this tempestuous epoch, there has already been occasion to refer. It is true that, like many others, he showed in very difficult circumstances some amount of vacillation. In his relations to Dissenters and in his views of comprehension he was, indeed, very far from being illiberal, and when he had once made up his mind that he could not take the oaths, he did not hesitate to carry out his views to their logical conclusion. Of the Nonjurors he became the most determined leader. His disapproval of the Revolution settlement he expressed with a directness that was nearly brutal. When Queen Mary, for instance, sent to ask him for his blessing, he sent back the message, 'Tell the Princess to ask her father's; without that I doubt mine would not be heard in Heaven.' When asked whether Nonjurors could rightly take part in the services of the Church he replied that there ought to be an absolution at the end as well as at the beginning of the prayers to absolve them from the guilt they had contracted in joining, or seeming to join, in immoral and unrighteous petitions. And from this position neither argument nor self-interest could induce him to recede. Retiring to his own old home at Fressingfield in Suffolk, the saintly old man devoted the remainder of his life to the offices of religion and to weak expostulation upon what he sincerely believed to be the injustice of the Government. *Pectus est quod facit theologum*—so runs the saying of Neander; and Sancroft's personal character was by universal consent above the shadow of reproach. That he should have sunk beneath the buffets of the storm is, therefore, the more to be regretted. But the times were such that simple piety was not of much avail.

> Nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
> Labentem pietas, nec Apollinis infula texit.

And so with his convictions unshaken he continued to the end.

That God would bless and preserve 'this poor suffering church, which by this Revolution is almost destroyed'; that He would bless and preserve the King, the Queen and the Prince, and 'in His due time restore them to their just and undoubted rights' were among the last prayers uttered by his dying lips. It was a very moving spectacle.[1]

That many of the nonjuring clergy displayed a courageous disinterestedness in defence of their principles is beyond question. To say anything, for instance, in praise of Bishop Ken would be a superfluity. To Hickes, the Dean of Worcester, there has already been occasion to refer. His learning was only equalled by his high-hearted independence. When deprived of his position, he nailed a written protest over the entrance of the choir of his cathedral—a 'manifesto against government,' to use Nottingham's expression. Jeremy Collier, among the minor clergy, was perhaps the most distinguished for his force of character, his ability and his learning. Believing that the Revolution settlement was essentially immoral, he did not hesitate to say so, and he was among the very first who sounded the trumpet-call to action. For this free expression of opinion he was thrown into Newgate, but released without being brought to trial. But Collier was not to be silenced, and in 1692 he was arrested on suspicion of treasonable action. Refusing to give bail, because to do so would, he thought, be an acknowledgment of the authority of the Court, he was only released on the petition of his friends. Nor, as will be seen, was this the last occasion when he came into antagonism with the government. Yet of all the Nonjurors he perhaps more than anyone else extorted the admiration of those who hated his principles and derided his opinions.[2] In the same year as Collier was born Charles Leslie, who might fitly be described as pre-eminently the nonjuring journalist and pamphleteer. Never perhaps did greater fertility of argument or more copiousness of diction run to waste so prodigally in the defence of a lost cause as they did in the writings of Charles Leslie. He was, indeed, a reasoner, said

[1] Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i.: 'A Review of the Life and Character of Archbishop Sancroft'; Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*; Somers *Tracts*: 'A Letter sent out of Suffolk by the Rev. Thomas Wagstaff.'

[2] Canon Overton's *The Nonjurors*, pp. 121–127.

admiring Dr. Johnson, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against. There remains one of the nonjuring clergymen who deserves to be remembered for the tremendous sacrifices he made for conscience sake. The Revolution found Denis Granville in the possession of the Deanery of Durham, an archdeaconry, and two rich livings. All these he resigned with calm dignity and courage; and after a futile attempt to oppose the Prince of Orange, he retired to Paris, where he sank into obscurity and poverty. In the House of Rimmon he steadfastly refused to bend the knee.

The great majority of the Nonjurors were naturally clergymen; but there were a few notable exceptions. Some were schoolmasters, for they required a licence from the bishop of the diocese in which they lived, the taking of the oaths being a preliminary condition of the grant. The law, however, was not very rigorously enforced. At the Universities especially there were numbers of nonjuring laymen to be found. Of these by far the most illustrious was Henry Dodwell. Diminutive in stature, slight and eager in his manner, careless in attire, a keen controversialist, but courteous and fair, steeped in antiquarian lore and full of quaint conceits, he was one of those characters upon which the memory loves to dwell. This great 'lay dictator' of the Nonjurors, as he was called, was born in 1641. His career at Trinity College, Dublin, was exceptionally brilliant. In 1688 he was chosen Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, but his refusal to take the oaths quickly brought his tenure of the office to an end. This remarkable man blended some fantastic theories with enormous erudition; and it may safely be asserted that his professorial lectures, if they had been actually delivered, would have been neither dull nor unoriginal. He held that men's souls were naturally mortal, and could be made immortal only by receiving the rite of baptism from a properly ordained minister; that marriages between Churchmen and Dissenters were null and void; that there was no communicating with the Father and the Son but by communion with the bishops; that to be disunited from the bishops was to be divided from Christ whose visible representatives they were; that those outside the Church were actually in communion with the devil. To these opinions he added

others of a still more disputable kind, such as that the notes of a church organ have power to counteract the influence of the devils on the spinal cord ; and that the atmosphere is the receptacle of all souls both good and bad, where they remain in the power of the devil—'the Prince of the air'—until the day of judgement ; the lower region of the air being a kind of place of purgatory for the less perfectly good souls, while over the souls of the pious the devil has little power of molestation. But these eccentricities of speculation were not inconsistent with a good deal of sobriety of conduct. 'Dodwell,' said the King, 'has set his mind on being a martyr, and I have set mine on disappointing him.' But it does not appear that he was moved by mere ambition to obtain a vulgar notoriety. For there was no one who, as the controversy developed, played a more influential part, or who, without surrendering his principles, did more to heal the breach.[1]

Though the number of nonjuring laymen was not great, there were many who did not take the oaths, simply because holding no office they were not called upon to do so. But they sympathised keenly with those who suffered deprivation in the cause of sacred principles. Among these compassionate persons was Robert Nelson, the author of the *Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*. A man of more Christian temper never breathed. There was no limit to his energy in any religious or charitable cause. Nor did he suffer differences of opinion to cast a shadow on his friendships. Francis Cherry was another of the sympathising laymen, and in an unostentatious way he played a part that was by no means unimportant. A country gentleman, living on his estate at Shottesbrooke, a bold rider to hounds, a collector of antiquities, a welcome guest in every social gathering, the 'Idol of Berkshire,' as he was styled, might have spent a selfish life of pleasure. But, so far from that, he turned his house into a refuge for Nonjurors in distress. One of those who owed him a debt of gratitude was Thomas Hearne, whose memories and jottings still delight the curious reader. The son of a parish clerk, who kept a writing

[1] *The Life of Henry Dodwell*, by Francis Brokesby ; Hearne's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ* (Bliss's edition), vol. i. *passim* ; Calamy's *An Historical Account of My Own Life*, vol. i. pp. 281–293.

school near Shottesbrooke, he was sent by Cherry to the Free School at Bray, and to St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. He did credit to his patron by rising to be assistant-keeper and under-librarian at the Bodleian Library; but on the Hanoverian succession he resigned his offices rather than take the oaths and do violence to his conscience.[1]

The position of the Nonjurors even under the most favourable circumstances must have been difficult and galling. But events occurred that made it worse than it would otherwise have been. First, Sancroft in attempting to undermine the position of the complying clergy made a serious mistake. The effort not only failed, but recoiled upon him and his party with terrible effect. It seems that in 1605 John Overall, Bishop of Exeter, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, was moved by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot to draw up a book entitled *Concerning the Government of God's Catholic Church and the Kingdoms of the whole World.* James I. objected to some of Overall's propositions, but the book was approved by both Houses of Convocation. In deference to the King's wishes, which he conveyed in a letter to Archbishop Abbot, Overall's exposition was never officially adopted, though it unquestionably represented the doctrines of the Church. The manuscript had fallen into Sancroft's hands at Durham, and a few days before his suspension he had it published under the title of *Overall's Convocation Book*, as an authentic declaration by the Church upon the duty of obedience to government. But by a strange slip he overlooked the fact that the book expressly stated that a government when lawfully settled, though it had begun in rebellion, might be lawfully obeyed; or, in other words, that a government *de facto* might, when accepted and established, be treated as a government *de jure*; or, again, as Burnet put it, that 'when a change of government was brought to a thorough settlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to, as a work of the providence of God.'[2] The result of the publication was the exact opposite of what the good Archbishop fondly hoped. There were some Nonjurors who would only have been

[1] Canon Overton's *The Nonjurors*; Hearne's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ* (Bliss's edition), vol. i. pp. 187, 287; vol. ii. pp. 7–8; vol. iii. pp. 116–117.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 389.

too willing to comply, if they could have found a reason adequate to soothing their conscientious scruples. One of these was William Sherlock, the Master of the Temple. The appearance of the *Convocation Book* gave him the opportunity that he so eagerly desired. He not only took the oaths, but in his pamphlet, *The Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers Stated*, he explained to the world that it was Sancroft himself who provided him with the argument for his change of action. A tremendous sensation was produced, and for his sudden change of front, Sherlock was bitterly reproached. His appointment to the deanery of St. Paul's, which speedily followed his conversion, moreover seemed to justify the charge that he had trimmed his sails from self-interested motives. He was taunted with gross inconsistency. As one writer put it, according to Sherlock, 'they were wicked . . . who contributed to drive out King James; and they were no less wicked who shall in the least contribute to bring him in again.'[1] Those who were bankrupt in argument were driven as a last resort to the contention that Sherlock had yielded to the entreaties of his wife, who, so it was supposed, entertained no small ambitions for her husband and herself. 'His Eve tempted him,' they said. When he was seen handing his wife along St. Paul's churchyard, a bookseller wittily remarked, 'There goes Dr. Sherlock, with his reasons for taking the oath at his fingers' ends.' He sold his loyalty, so it was said, for a mess of pottage. The imputation of course was quite unfounded, but Sherlock never quite lived down the charge of inconsistency. When he afterwards published a controversial work upon the Trinity, Dr. South observed that there was hardly a subject except popery but he had written both for and against it.[2] Even more pungent was the sarcasm levelled at him in the following remark: 'No wonder that the Doctor can swear allegiance to more than one king, when he can swear to more than one God.'

This was the first of all the troubles which the Nonjurors had to meet. The second was that they could not agree amongst themselves. When a party once splits, it seems to open up the way to infinite divisibility; and this is exactly what happened,

[1] Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 336–338.
[2] Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*, pp. 115, 120.

when the Nonjurors cut themselves adrift. They again underwent a subdivision. In contradiction to the counsel of some eminent Nonjurors and with great want of judgement, Sancroft perpetuated the schism by sanctioning the consecration of two nonjuring bishops, Hickes, the late Dean of Worcester, and Wagstaffe, a divine who had proved his loyalty to Church principles by endeavouring to vindicate the claim of Charles I. to the authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*. Among those who disapproved of Sancroft's action were Robert Nelson, Ken, and Dodwell. It is true, indeed, that they held that the deprivation of the nonjuring clergy was unconstitutional and illegal. Nevertheless they fully grasped the fundamental fact of the position—that is to say, that the Nonjurors did not so much object to recognising William's rule, as to transferring their allegiance from a monarch to whom they believed that they were still bound by their oaths to pay allegiance. They all, or at least the majority, would have been willing to support the government of William in the capacity of regent; but there were none who could persuade themselves that anything had happened to nullify their oaths by which they had sworn to render obedience to James. His misgovernment did not seem to warrant such a breach of faith. It was clear that it was only those persons who had taken the oaths to James who could be affected by any conscientious scruples whatsoever, and that by effluxion of time the reasons for maintaining the schism would ultimately vanish. No one perhaps more clearly than Dodwell apprehended the facts in all their bearings; and certainly no one reasoned upon them with more cogency and force. In his *Case in View Considered*, published in 1705, he argued that upon the deaths or resignations of the deprived bishops—whom he had formerly so ably vindicated—there would be no obligation upon the Nonjurors to continue the schism any longer; and when in 1710 Bishop Lloyd died, leaving Ken the sole survivor, he thought that the time had arrived when something might be done to heal the breach. Ken resigned; and when Dodwell sought his counsel whether he might then rejoin the Church, he replied in the affirmative. In his pamphlet, *The Case in View now in Fact*, Dodwell justified his action at some length. But though others followed his example by returning to the Church, there were

many whom he was totally unable to convince. One of these was the Reverend John Kettlewell, who had long been distinguished for his amiable character and for the energetic zeal with which he had defended his position. Not content with verbal protests he publicly prayed for James II. and the pretended Prince of Wales, and incurred a prosecution. Kettlewell was one of those men whose eager nature is averse from moderate courses, and to whom compromise is actually abhorrent. To Dodwell's reasonable action he therefore offered, as might have been expected, the strongest opposition, and there was hardly anyone who was more responsible for the perpetuation of the schism. In Hickes he found an ally of a still more uncompromising mood. This indefatigable zealot in 1713, with the assistance of some Scotch prelates, consecrated Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes as 'bishops at large,' as they were called. The adherents of this little band were known as 'Hickesites' or 'The Communion of Dr. Hickes.' But this was not the only subsection which was formed out of the nonjuring body. Before the death of James II. in 1701 an Act was passed requiring the Nonjurors to abjure the pretended Prince of Wales and to acknowledge William and his successors as their 'rightful and lawful' sovereigns. It is certain that if this Act had not been passed, many Nonjurors would have felt that there was no valid reason for their remaining obdurate any longer. But the new Act demanded more than they were able to concede, and so a new body, 'The Non-Abjurors,' was created. Thus splintered into fragments and falling lower and lower in public estimation, the Nonjurors dwindled gradually into an insignificant and unconsidered sect.

Yet the Nonjurors for a decade or more were politically by no means a negligible quantity. As a dissentient group or 'cave,' they alike by their virtues and their faults proved an insuperable obstacle to the return of the Tories to a position of influence and power. The more sincere they were, the more impossible they made the unity of the party. It is possible that some of them were not disinclined to undergo a martyrdom of a not very painful kind. But their sincerity—when they had everything to gain by complying—it seems difficult to question. Even those who differed from them most, recognised the strength

of their conscientious scruples. Burnet, for instance, while regretting the loss to the Church of so many worthy men, said that he thought the better of them for obeying the dictation of their conscience. And when Nelson asked Tillotson whether he thought that he could rightfully attend the services of the Church, he received a reply which seemed to assert in express terms that the conduct of the Nonjurors in holding aloof from the Church needed no apology. 'I think it plain,' he said, 'that no man can join in prayers in which there is any petition which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion.' [1] It is, indeed, true that the Nonjurors have been charged with hypocrisy and dishonourable conduct. It is hardly to be doubted that some of them acted as Jacobite agents in disguise ; nor is it to be wondered at that others, thrown out of regular employment on account of their professions, were forced into a vagabond life, and driven to make a living as best they could. Perfectly honest in the principles which led them into schism, they were constrained by necessity to descend to low and sordid shifts. Not indeed that there were no shining examples of upright lives passed in circumstances of a most depressing kind. The holding of religious services in secret, and the use of passwords tended, moreover, to produce in those who had recourse to them, a want of candour that verged upon hypocrisy. Even if they did attend the services of the Church, their behaviour when the 'immoral prayers' for the King and royal family were being said, certainly did not tend to edify. To stand and face the congregation, to sit on hassocks, to turn over the leaves of the Prayer-Book, to pretend to take snuff—such were some of the devices they made use of to signify their disapproval. Sometimes they outraged by their conduct those feelings of mankind which they ought to have respected. Even those who were the ornaments of the party occasionally did things that it is almost impossible to justify. When, for instance, Sir William Parkyns and Sir John Friend were executed in 1696 for their part in the assassination plot, Collier, assisted by two other nonjuring clergymen, Cook and Snatt, publicly absolved Sir William on the scaffold. The condemned man having confessed that he was privy to the plot,

[1] Overton's *The Nonjurors*, p. 245.

the public indignation was profound. The three Nonjurors tried to justify themselves, although the bishops formally passed a sentence of condemnation on their action, as schismatical, seditious, dangerous, and anti-Christian. The plea set up was that Sir William had repented. Cook and Snatt were set at liberty on finding the bail which was demanded; but Collier refused it, and was consequently outlawed.[1]

The effect of the nonjuring schism upon the Church party and therefore upon the Tories as a whole was exceedingly disastrous. Their disputes, their sophistries, their dialectical fencing, laid them open to the assaults of the Whigs, who, in strong contrast, were united in a course marked out by practical good sense. While the Tories were wrangling over abstract questions of the origin and authority of government, the Whigs thrust theory aside and endeavoured to effect such a settlement as circumstances permitted. The verbal shifts, the ingenious excuses, the explanations, the apologies, to which the Tories had recourse must have often provoked a smile from their opponents, who all the time were addressing themselves to the questions of practical administration. Whether a Tory took the oaths or not, in either case he was a good deal criticised. Some of those who complied did so with reservations; as, for instance, that the oaths bound them only to peaceable behaviour. Dodwell ingeniously argued that those who took them accepted nevertheless the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience; but if that was so, it says little for their intellectual honesty. It is at any rate certain that many of those who bound themselves to support the new government acted rather from prudential motives than from genuine convictions. Where the arguments were nicely balanced self-interest not seldom turned the scale. Some of those who did violence to their consciences were afterwards smitten with remorse, and to meet their case a form of recantation was composed. While those, therefore, who outwardly conformed were often suspected of hypocrisy, the Nonjurors were constantly taunted with their obstinate refusal to recognise the force of facts. A state of things more likely to impair the moral influence of the Church it would be difficult to imagine; for the ordinary layman might, perhaps in some cases

[1] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. iii. p. 413; vol. iv. pp. 40, 45.

not entirely without reason, have been driven to the conclusion that the clergy were either knaves or fools. It is no wonder that under these circumstances the Tories ceased to exercise their old authority.

Before leaving the Nonjurors it will be convenient to refer briefly to their relations with the Jacobites. The terms were not convertible; for though the Nonjurors in a general way sympathised with the objects of the Jacobites, there were comparatively few who were prepared to go the length of plotting to bring about the restoration of the Stewarts. Strictly speaking the Nonjurors simply declined to affirm the power of parliament to dispense with their oaths to James II., and the majority perhaps were averse from stepping beyond this negative position. Men such as these were infinitely more loyal than the Jacobites who took the oaths in order to cloak their treacherous intrigues. But there were some Nonjurors—Bishop Turner, for example—who more or less actively took part in Jacobite designs. At the Universities, where the Nonjurors swarmed, Jacobitism found a congenial soil and a stimulating atmosphere. By tradition both Oxford and Cambridge had been strenuously Tory, and it was but to be expected, therefore, that in these academic circles the new Whig principles of government would be received with much disfavour. It is curious, however, that though the Nonjurors were the more numerous at Cambridge, the Jacobites multiplied more luxuriantly at Oxford, where, indeed, it was said that the very streets were paved with their skulls.

The extent of the disaster that overtook the Tory party is not to be measured solely by the secession of the nonjuring members. That was serious enough, but it was not all. In the same parliament which passed the Act for settling the form of allegiance and supremacy, two Bills were introduced which embarrassed the Tories even more. It was not that these measures actually caused a party split, but they greatly accentuated the differences which existed among Churchmen; they discovered and laid bare to public view the points of dispute, which it was the true policy of the Tories to minimise as much as possible. The Bills for comprehension and toleration on the contrary served to emphasise the points of disagreement, and, therefore, still further to disintegrate the forces upon which

the Tory party in the last resort was based. For disunion among Churchmen rendered impossible the cohesion which is the indispensable condition of party vitality and strength.

The action of the Church in resisting James II. in his designs to impose Roman Catholicism upon an unwilling country placed her in a very strong position. That advantage was now entirely lost—nay rather, the position was greatly altered for the worse. Whether the leaders of the Church were wise and prudent in acting the part in the Revolution that they did is one of those questions upon which opinions may well differ. It may well be that if the bishops had completely held aloof, the Church would have forfeited her claim to any influence in the government, and that her usefulness for the future, as a moderating force would have been impaired, if not destroyed. Be that as it may, the action taken by some of the most eminent of the clergy in precipitating and carrying through the Revolution went far to destroy the solidarity of the Church. There were differences indeed; but for the most part they were not felt to be acute. The once scarcely visible cracks were, however, now yawning into chasms. William had by his coronation oath undertaken to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion as by law established; but though Supreme Governor of the Church, his own religious views placed him entirely out of sympathy with the great majority of the clergy. Yet he posed no less as an ecclesiastical ruler than any of his predecessors. A more curious illustration of the inconsistencies which the British Constitution is sometimes stretched to tolerate it would be difficult to find than that of William exercising his ecclesiastical prerogatives. Ruling a Church some of whose most cherished doctrines he privately disowned, it is not to be wondered at that many of the clergy viewed his actions with suspicion and dismay.

The Revolution did not actually create the High and Low Church parties; it found them already in existence. What it did was to spur them into fresh activity and life. In consequence the old sores were hugely aggravated, the old acrimonious feelings much intensified, and the old lines of demarcation much more distinctly cut. When precisely the terms High and Low Church came into common use it is perhaps impossible to say with

certitude. Kennet appears to have written of them as though they existed before the Revolution, and for doing so he was taken to task by Roger North.[1] Hallam says that the distinction arose about the end of William's reign, and he speaks not without authority. For Burnet, writing of the year 1700, mentions those who 'began now to be called the High Church party';[2] 'and even as late as 1705 Evelyn makes a note in his *Diary* that the High Churchmen formed 'another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen.'[3]

The characteristics of the two Church parties may very briefly be described. The Low Churchmen, says Burnet, were zealous for the government, tolerant to Dissenters, and willing to make concessions with a view to a scheme of comprehension; while the High Churchmen did exactly the reverse. These latter, he declares, deeming a favourable inclination to Dissenters to be 'a more heinous thing than leaning to Popery itself,' were cold towards the government, and at length complained that the Church was deprived of its liberties owing to the neglect to summon Convocation—a 'new pretension,' he observes, 'never thought of since the Reformation.'[4] Between the two parties there was a very real difference which in any but a very comprehensive church could scarcely have existed without the production of a schism; and even as it was the one found it difficult to tolerate the other.

While the High Church party comprised the great majority of the clergy, the Low Church, which was composed of Puritan and Latitudinarian elements, was in proportion to its numbers the more illustrious by reason of its ability and learning. And as William was driven to turn to the latter solely in order to fill higher ecclesiastical appointments, the Low Church clergy soon predominated upon the episcopal bench in a way that was strikingly disproportionate from a purely numerical point of view. As it created jealousies, the fact, if unavoidable, was certainly unfortunate; nor did the appointments to the bench tend to soothe the lacerated feelings of the High Church party. Even the thought of Compton remaining in the Bishopric of London

[1] North's *Examen*.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 459.
[3] Evelyn's *Diary*. [4] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 392.

was enough to fill them with disgust. For though Burnet was certainly wrong in saying that he was the property of Lord Danby and was turned by him as he pleased, Compton had done almost more than anyone to bring about the Revolution. His equivocation, his flight with the Princess Anne—which earned him the nickname of 'Jack Boots'—made the Protestant Bishop very unpopular with the Tories. Nor was Burnet's elevation agreeable to those who remembered how, when he was made a bishop, he declared that he would never wear lawn sleeves.[1] But the crowning blow was the promotion of Tillotson to fill the primacy of which Sancroft had been deprived. The son of a Calvinist clothier, nourished upon the straitest Puritan principles, and brought by his marriage into intimate relations with the family of Cromwell, it is not wonderful that Tillotson's sympathies were Whig. Though at the Restoration he conformed, his views continued broad, and many leading Nonconformists enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. As a preacher he did much to introduce what Evelyn calls 'the far more profitable way, of plaine and practical discourses,' in place of the old style which the Diarist describes as 'full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods and Latin sentences.'[2] Tillotson's elevation to the primacy may be said to have marked an epoch in the history of the Church. It introduced a liberalising element; it was the outward and visible manifestation of the fact that the principles of divine right and passive obedience were no longer, officially at least, propounded as necessary doctrine. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that an irritated party could see in the Archbishop nothing but 'a fanatic in lawn sleeves.'

These ecclesiastical disputes divided the laity almost if not quite as sharply as the clergy, and they have, therefore, profoundly affected the history of parties. It would, indeed, not be too much to say that the High Churchmen were practically synonymous with the Tories and the Low Churchmen with the Whigs. The landed gentry and the High Churchmen were sometimes spoken of as identical by contemporary writers. Never perhaps were the Tories so emphatically the holders of a distinctive ecclesiastical doctrine as they were during the twenty years which followed the Revolution. The Nonjurors—the

[1] Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 18. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*.

irreconcilables perhaps they may be called—led the way. Their doctrines were distinctly sacerdotal. They insisted, for example, on the priestly caste of the clergy, on the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, on the divine origin of tithes, on the propriety of prayers for the dead, on the power of the clergy to excommunicate from Heaven, and on the schismatical nature of non-episcopal sects.

That all these views were held without exceptions by the majority of the Tories it would be too much to assert. But in a vague and general way they commanded the sympathy of the party as a whole ; and it is therefore scarcely to be wondered at that the Comprehension Bill brought forward in William's first parliament aroused the bitterest opposition. The idea of endeavouring to win back Dissenters by an extension of the boundaries of the Church was not a new one ; it had long hovered vaguely in the minds of the more liberal-minded both of the clergy and the laity. Tillotson, for instance, was one of those who had long inclined to favour the idea. So long ago as 1679 he had, as Dean of Canterbury, preached a sermon which lifted the curtain from his mind. He thought, he said, that ' he had no cause to doubt but the governors of our Church . . . would be content . . . not to insist upon little things, but yield them up, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or perhaps in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions of those who differed from them.' [1] Slowly but surely Sherlock had moved in a similar direction ; for the circumference of his mind was continually expanding. In 1682 he had said that separation from the Church was a schism, and that schism was ' as damning a sin as idolatry, drunkenness, or adultery.' In 1688 he declared that he had reason to hope that ' the Church of England will, whenever it is likely to do good, condescend a great deal farther than it is necessary to reform, to meet the Dissenter.' [2] It is still more remarkable that even the Earl of Nottingham, whom the more moderate of the Tories regarded as their leader, was persuaded that a prudent scheme of comprehension would redound to the advantage of the Church. It was therefore thought by many

[1] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. (Third Collection): ' Proposals tendered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament.'

[2] *Ibid.*

persons that the time was ripe for action. Commissioners accordingly were appointed to revise the liturgy and make proposals, and in order that no ground should be afforded for complaint, Convocation, on Tillotson's advice, was summoned to consider the Report. But, notwithstanding this concession, the High Churchmen, led by Rochester and Clarendon, were thoroughly alarmed. The temper of the Lower House of Convocation was unmistakably displayed in their choosing as prolocutor Dr. Jane, the Dean of Gloucester. As one of those who had taken a principal share in drafting the famous Oxford decree of 1683, he was not very likely to look with favour upon any Latitudinarian scheme. How the Lower House would vote upon the subject it was easy to foresee. Filled with the representatives of the rural clergy and animated by no small animosity towards the Whig bishops who swayed the Upper House, it was obvious from the first that it would never assent to the proposals, and after a good deal of heated controversy it was finally prorogued. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ!* Upon the question whether it was wise on the part of Convocation to reject the scheme of comprehension there may well be some difference of opinion. But it is probable that the High Churchmen acted with more wisdom than they knew. The rejection of the scheme deprived the Nonjurors of the opportunity of pretending that they were for the old Church as well as for the old King, and so made impossible what might have turned out to be a much more serious schism than any which actually occurred. But, however that may be, and whatever may be thought of their motives or of the wisdom of their acts, the High Churchmen and the Tories gained a very real victory. They inflicted a considerable defeat upon the Low Churchmen and the Whigs; they excluded from the Church a liberalising element which in time might have completely transformed her constitution; and they retained the old historical forms and much of the old historical spirit. It is perhaps worth a passing notice that the Commissioners in reviewing the Prayer-book took exception to the words 'our religious and gracious King' upon the ground that some kings have no more religion than they should have. The objection is significant of the change in the popular view of kingship which had happened since the time of the passing of the Act of Uniformity. By their

hostile attitude towards comprehension, the Tories in some small degree retarded the rationalising process which had slowly undermined the belief in the divinity of kings. But though the Tories snatched victory for the moment by the defeat of the attempt to liberalise the Church, it is probable that they were weakened in the long run. The attempt, though it failed, accentuated the division in the Church, and it brought no inconsiderable number of Churchmen—and those not the least distinguished—into political alliance with the Dissenters. Henceforward the Whigs included in their ranks a larger proportion of Churchmen than they had ever done before; nor could the terms Churchman and Tory be regarded any longer as synonymous. This was a great political event. Whether the result upon the whole has been a national gain or loss is perhaps an open question. Yet the complete identification of the Church with a single party in the State could never have been an unmixed good; and it was owing to the events of 1689 that the Church of England was to a large extent preserved from degenerating into a mere political organisation.

By the passing of the Toleration Act the Church and Tory party can scarcely be said to have suffered a defeat, because both sides were affected by a change in the intellectual atmosphere. Whigs as well as Tories were mellowed and softened by the warm rays of the sun of a new day which was just about to dawn. The spirit of tolerance had hitherto hardly been able to overcome the almost insuperable obstacles which had cast their evil shadow upon the pathway of mankind. Toleration is one of those flowers of civilisation which blossom late, for it involves a recognition of the fact that truth is a gem with innumerable facets, that she dwells in diverse mansions and is clothed in many vestures. It postulates the existence in the mind of the tolerant of some of the finest and rarest of moral and intellectual attributes: the power, for example, to discriminate between an opinion itself and the person of its holder; to hate the sin and love the sinner; to distinguish the conclusion arrived at by the reason from the attitude of the thinker towards the evidence from which that conclusion is derived; to understand—and perhaps to pardon—repellent and uncongenial views; to seek for points of contact and not for points of difference; and the courage to

defend, if need be, the leaders of unpopular causes against violence and wrong.[1]

That the virtue of toleration should have made its appearance late in the history of mankind, and then only imperfectly and intermittently, was perhaps but to be expected. The mind of the bigot, it has been well said, resembles the pupil of the eye—the more light that streams upon it, the more it contracts. But it is only by use that the mental eye becomes accustomed to the dazzling rays of knowledge. In England the history of toleration was no exception to the rule—a fact which there is only too abundant evidence to prove. Some great minds, indeed, rose above the common herd. In More's *Utopia* the ideal at least of perfect toleration is to be found. Hooker was possessed by the spirit of it in a very genuine form. Some, indeed, saw and partly practised a more excellent way. Who were the pioneers among the various claimants to that title it is perhaps impossible to decide; but both the Arminian Churchmen and the nonconforming Independents did, it is evident, something in their own different ways to widen the sympathies and mitigate the struggle. Cromwell himself was capable of taking a large-minded view. 'Sir,' he exclaimed, 'the State in choosing men to serve it takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies.' Chillingworth and Hales were two of those of whom it may be said that toleration was, as it were, an ornament to their heads and a chain about their necks. But men such as these were rare products of the age in which they lived; through the pearl-string of their virtues ran the silken thread of charity. Very different, however, was the spirit which commonly prevailed. If the Roman Catholics went about to extirpate Protestantism, the Protestants, on their side, repaid them back with interest. *Eo immitior quia toleravit.* Neither Milton nor Locke, nor Shaftesbury nor Tillotson, dared to advocate the tolerance of popery. 'While we wrangle here in the dark,' said Baxter, in a very noble passage, 'we are dying and passing to the world which will decide all our controversies, and the safest passage is by peaceable holiness.' Yet even he declared that some kinds of toleration could be nothing less than 'soul-murder.' It is true that the last cases of burning for

[1] Bagehot's *Literary Studies*, vol. ii.: 'The Metaphysical Basis of Toleration.'

heresy in England took place in 1614 and that the statute *de heretico comburendo* was repealed in 1677. Nevertheless the history of the penal legislation from the beginning of the seventeenth century is a terrible one to contemplate. The Puritan Nonconformist, when he had the power to do so, persecuted just as freely as the Cavalier and Churchman. No more intolerant legislation has been ever seen in England than that of the period of the Commonwealth, and the trials of Biddle and Best for daring to write against the Trinity are a standing witness to the narrow, not to say savage, fanaticism of the party at that time in authority.

The Restoration did very little or nothing to bring about a better state of things. It is true that the attempts of Charles II. and his brother to secure toleration by means of declarations of indulgence seemed to point in this direction; but as these attempts merely veiled designs to subvert the constitution, the cause was only prejudiced thereby. The Tories tried to justify the suppression of dissent upon the ground that it endangered the unity and the very existence of the State. Anglican intolerance, indeed, was much more political than theological. The intolerance of the Puritans, on the other hand, though to a large extent political, was much more profoundly theological. The intolerance of the Puritan is, therefore, less easy to defend than the intolerance of the Tory and the Churchman. Yet, with some exceptions, the latter scarcely succeeded in attaining to a higher level or a loftier intellectual plane. At a time when Tomkins, Archbishop Sheldon's chaplain, and Bishop Parker were publishing elaborate treatises upon the inconveniences and dangers of toleration, it cannot be claimed for the Church that she displayed much breadth of view. The Act of Indulgence, as the Toleration Act was legally entitled, in fact demonstrated very clearly how small after all was the advance which had been made. Not a single repressive Act was removed from the Statute-book, nor were the benefits of the Act extended to Papists and those who held anti-Trinitarian opinions. But exemption from penalties and liberty of public worship were granted to Dissenters who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and signed a declaration against transubstantiation. A dissenting minister, moreover, was not allowed to officiate unless he had previously assented to the greater number of the Thirty-nine Articles of religion.

Special clauses were included to meet the cases of the Quakers and the Baptists. The toleration conceded was in reality so little that the praise which has been given to the Act seems scarcely to be warranted. Had the Act of Toleration, it may be asked, any peculiar significance or importance in relation to the Tories? It did, indeed, deprive them of an instrument for repressing their opponents, but one which was not of much utility. For though you may prevent the public expression of opinion, you cannot coerce the intellect. This was a truth which the Tories had gradually come to recognise. Curses, says an Italian proverb, are like religious processions, they return whence they set out. So, too, tolerance has a habit of coming home to roost. But a beginning had been made. The Tories would probably in any case have been reluctant for the future to put in force the old oppressive acts against the Dissenters, so that the Act of Toleration can scarcely be said to have weakened their position. The spirit of the age breathed its softening influence upon even the most stubborn. The time had gone by for such statutes as had disgraced the reign of Charles II., and if William could not say, as Frederick II. of Prussia said afterwards of his own country, 'In my kingdom every man can go to Heaven after his own fashion,' he could at least console himself with thinking that the Act of Toleration, imperfect though it was, was not the least of the splendid achievements of his reign.

The passing of the Toleration Act was but a single instance of the way in which the Whig majority in William's first parliament was able to make its dominant influence felt. When they reversed the attainders of Lord William Russell, Algernon Sydney, and others who had fallen victims to the savage blows of party frenzy, the Whigs obtained the concurrence of the Tories in an act of simple justice. Nor did the Reverend Samuel Johnson receive less than his due when, at the request of the parliament, the King conferred upon him some pecuniary compensation for the sufferings he had undergone. The case of Titus Oates disclosed less unanimity; for whereas the Whigs believed that this unworthy instrument had performed a public service in exposing the so-called popish plot, the Tories felt no reason to be grateful to him. The refusal of the House of Lords to declare his sentence illegal upon a writ of error, revealed a fact of some

importance—that is to say, that the majority of the Upper House was Tory, and likely to come into sharp conflict with the Commons. This, indeed, is what actually occurred. For though the House of Commons passed a Bill annulling Oates's sentence, the Lords declined to depart from their position; and in the end the wretched man was forced to be content with a pardon and a pension. The precise measure of justice which should have been meted out to so unprincipled a person was not in itself a matter of much moment; and his attempts to obtain redress for his real or imaginary wrongs can only be regarded as comparatively unimportant from the public point of view. The proposals for impeachments, the vehement attacks which came from Howe and Hampden, the expulsion from the House of Commons of Sir Robert Sawyer for acts which he had abundantly expiated by his subsequent services in the cause of liberty—these and similar actions showed that the Whigs in their day of power were no less capable than the Tories of misusing their predominance. But a still more flagrant instance yet remains of which mention must be made—the attempt, that is to say, of the Whigs to pervert the Corporation Bill to their own narrow party interests. It was a good Bill in itself, for the proposal to restore the old charters, which had been improperly surrendered under duress, was an eminently just one. But the determination of the Whigs to introduce an amendment that would in effect exclude great numbers of Tories from the enjoyment of the franchise for a period of seven years, was a political manœuvre of the narrowest party kind. The proposers of the amendment aimed at nothing less than 'to make sure,' as Burnet says, 'of all future Parliaments.'[1] The indignation of the Tories was naturally profound, and they resolved to resist the proposal to the utmost. There ensued what Lord Clarendon called 'a great trial of skill' between the two political parties.[2] The Tories taking advantage of the financial exigencies of the moment, undertook to raise a considerable sum, if the King would help them to defeat the Whig machinations. No stone was left unturned, and appeals were even made to the King

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 68.

[2] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer.

to use his influence upon one side or the other. 'The Whigs,' to quote Burnet again, 'promised everything that he desired if he would help them to get this Bill passed; and the Tories were not wanting in their promises, if the Bill should be stopped, and the Parliament dissolved.' In the end the obnoxious amendment was defeated; for the more liberal-minded Whigs, to their honour be it said, resisted the temptation to snatch a party victory. It should be added that before the session closed the Bill of Rights was passed. To its importance from the constitutional point of view it would be superfluous to refer; and it must be enough to say that the old-fashioned Tory must have viewed this new-fangled legislation with something like dismay. For it explicitly repudiated some of his most fondly-cherished doctrines; as, for example, the power of dispensation. The Declaration of Rights clothed in legislative form, and backed with all the force of law, was in fact the expression of the national will that certain Tory principles should not for the future find a place either in English constitutional theory or practice. So regarded, it was a momentous event in the history of Toryism.

In obstructing the passing of the Bill of Indemnity the Whigs made a great tactical mistake, and played into the hands of their opponents. The King, who, as he told Parliament, had earnestly endeavoured 'to extinguish or at least compose' the differences among his subjects, was of course, much annoyed. The Corporation Bill controversy had moreover almost driven him to despair. For he was compelled to make his choice between two alternatives, neither of which was according to his taste. If he surrendered to the Whigs, he would place himself entirely in their hands, and practically deprive himself of the prerogative of choosing his own ministers. If he chose the other course, he feared that he would forfeit the support of the Whigs, upon whom he most relied. So extreme was his perplexity that he threatened to retire to Holland and leave the government to the Queen, like a second Sertorius, who, as Plutarch tells us, yearned to find repose in the Fortunate Islands of popular tradition. But it was to the waterways and gardens of his own dear country that the King's affections turned. The entreaties of ministers, however, eventually prevailed; the threat was withdrawn, and

parliament prorogued. The Tory members showed their delight by holding what was perhaps the first political dinner known in English history. To the number of about one hundred and fifty they assembled at the Apollo Tavern in Fleet Street, in no way disheartened by the proceedings of the session. Sir John Lowther, who by this time was quickly rising into the position of a leader of the party, was deputed to convey to the King an expression of their gratitude. The King's reply was gracious, and the Tories generally were put in much good humour. 'Strange blindness,' observed the Earl of Clarendon, who was in no mood to be appeased.[1]

The prorogation was soon followed in 1690 by a general election, which produced some astonishing results. Excitement ran high. While the Whigs printed lists of those members who had voted against the resolution declaring the vacancy of the throne, the Tories retorted by publishing the names of those who had endeavoured to pervert the Corporation Bill. The vehement partisanship of the Whigs in the parliament which had just expired, had, however, disgusted many moderate men throughout the country and caused a reaction to set in. It might have been supposed that the Tories would have sunk beneath a series of unparalleled misfortunes. Yet such was the vitality of the party, so strong was its hold upon the affections of the people, so necessary was it for the articulate expression of the needs of the country, that when the results of the elections were returned, it was found that the Tories had actually obtained a majority. Four Tories supplanted the Whigs in the City; at Westminster two Tories were returned unopposed; and so deeply was political feeling stirred in Cambridge academic circles that Newton retired from the representation of the University, and two Tories were returned, of whom Sir Robert Sawyer, the ex-Attorney-General, was one. The man whom the last Parliament had ignominiously ejected from its midst was now chosen to represent one of the most illustrious of constituencies.

The return of a Tory majority to the House of Commons was immediately followed by some ministerial changes. The time had not, indeed, arrived when it became the constitutional

[1] *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer.

practice to form ministries taken from the dominant party of the day. But the changes that were made gave to the Tories a larger share of power than that which they had recently possessed. The Trimmer Halifax, whose cool imperturbability had equally provoked the eager partisans on both sides, retired from the post of Privy Seal, which was put into commission. The Marquis of Carmarthen retained the Presidency of the Council, and was Premier in fact, if not in name. There was no attack, however dangerous, which this indefatigable—not to say indispensable—minister was not able to survive. The animosity of the Whigs towards him was intense; they nicknamed him 'King Thomas' or 'Tom the Tyrant,' and styled him 'the thin ill-natured ghost that haunts the King.' In the last House of Commons an attempt had been made to prove that his former impeachment had disqualified him for holding office. 'If,' said Sir Henry Capel, 'the King's ministers, after ill administration in their places, may plead their pardons, you have not one King but twenty. I would have but one King, and the ministers who are our fellow-subjects are questionable as ourselves.'[1] But though the House passed a resolution that a pardon is not pleadable to an impeachment, the attack completely failed, and with the advent of a Tory majority Carmarthen's position was even stronger than before. He towered above his colleagues. Godolphin, who alone was his equal in knowledge of finance, left the Treasury in company with Delamere and Monmouth. The entry of Sir John Lowther, a moderate Tory, of respectable talents and estimable character, as First Lord of the Treasury, brought with it no new element of strength. At the Admiralty the chief place was entrusted to the Earl of Pembroke—a nobleman whose hereditary Toryism was tempered by his wide sympathies and the breadth of his intelligence. In the person alone of Richard Hampden, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, did the Whigs obtain any additional representation in a ministry in which the Tory influence was now decidedly predominant. The formation of a uniform and homogeneous ministry taken from a single party was evidently beginning to be generally recognised as a constitutional principle; and with it there developed the concomitant conception of the responsibility

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 287.

of ministers to Parliament. It is perhaps significant of the change which was in progress that the term 'Cabinet Council' was coming gradually, though not without protest, into vogue. 'Cabinet Council,' complained a speaker in the House of Commons in 1692, 'is not a word to be found in our law-books; we knew it not before; we took it for a nickname. Nothing can fall out more unhappily than to have a distinction made of the Cabinet and Privy Council. If some of the Privy Council may be trusted, and some not, to whom must any gentleman apply? Must we ask, "Who is a Cabinet Councillor?" This creates mistrust in the people.' The question was at the time a very pertinent one to ask. One thing is, however, clear, and that is, that when on this occasion the House of Commons passed a resolution that the King be advised to employ 'men of known integrity and ability,'[1] it revealed its intention to control the administration and to hold ministers responsible to itself. Whether Whigs or Tories were in power, this great constitutional principle irresistibly advanced.

When the new parliament met, the Tories found themselves in a difficult position. They had a majority, indeed, but it was not easy to turn it to account. For though the Tories were above everything the supporters of the monarchy, they had personal objections to the actual occupants of the throne. It was an inconsistency of which their opponents made the most by planning a campaign of pure embarrassment. The Tories—such was the design—were to be placed in a dilemma; they must be driven either to contradict their own principles, or to defend them at the risk of losing the favour of the King; they must be compelled either to be Jacobites or to act in concurrence with the Whigs. It was an ingenious design, which, though certainly obstructive, was practically barren of results. The settlement by Act of Parliament of an annual revenue of fifty thousand pounds upon the Princess Anne was, as far as it went, a victory for the Tories, who found a vent for their sympathies in showing her some favour. Except, indeed, by the passing of a Bill, which put the validity of the statutes of the Convention Parliament beyond a doubt, the Whigs accomplished very little. The stringent Abjuration Bill, upon which they most

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. pp. 276, 279.

relied, if it had become law, would have been exceedingly oppressive to many conscientious Tories. But William was unwilling to have martyrs in his kingdom. As Lord Falkland wisely reminded his hearers in the course of the debate, 'when Augustus Cæsar had a list given him of those who conspired against him, he burnt that list, which made those and their families his friends.'[1] The King made his wishes known, and to the chagrin of the Whigs, the Bill was decisively rejected. The Act of Grace was in effect a strong rebuke to those who, by refusing to allow the Bill of Indemnity to pass, were determined to obstruct the King's benevolent intentions.

It was the grave misfortune of the Tories that the extremities of the party frequently brought it into discredit as a whole. To the mischievous intrigues, the blind infatuation and the strange misapprehensions of the national sentiment on the part of those whom we have styled the ultra-Tories there has already been occasion to refer; and it must here suffice to say that it was their deliberate design to restore the Roman Catholic faith by means of the co-operation of the French which involved the entire party in irreparable ruin. The ultra-Tories, with some modification, survived the Revolution, under the general name of Jacobites. A larger and more influential group than their predecessors in the two previous reigns, they comprised within their ranks no inconsiderable number of adherents, who, though they felt constrained by conscientious motives to support the claim of James II., were hearty enemies of popery. Who actually could be classified as Jacobites it is very difficult to say, for the term was vague and indeterminate. There was a wide difference between expressing sympathy for James II. and taking up arms in his support. Some, too, there were who, though they felt little or no personal love for James, yet could never be persuaded that there had been any real abdication. Of the Nonjurors in this connexion something already has been said; and it will, therefore, be enough to add that, though the majority kept themselves clear of complicity in treason, there were some who had more or less involved themselves in intrigue. Of these the Earl of Clarendon was perhaps the most conspicuous example by reason of his rank and his family

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. p. 77.

traditions. The assertion of Burnet that from disappointed ambition he became reconciled to James and was become one of the 'hottest promoters of his interest of any in the nation,' is certainly excessive; for Clarendon was not the kind of man to run tremendous risks. There have, indeed, been fewer episodes in history so full of dingy intrigue and so lacking in the elements of high romance as the Jacobite movement during the reign of William III. With a strange want of courage and single-minded honesty not a few highly-placed personages—Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Dartmouth, for example—sought to make their account both with William and with James. But if the Non-jurors were commonly Jacobites, the converse was not always true—a fact of which the Duke of Ormonde affords an illustration. That the High Church party should have had Jacobite leanings was but to be expected; for it is notorious that it was the Low Churchmen and the Latitudinarians alone among the clergy who displayed any zeal in the cause of the new Government. That there was a good deal of cryptic Jacobitism among the rank and file of the clergy it is impossible to doubt.

It was from these sources chiefly that the Jacobites derived their strength, but to suppose that they comprised only Roman Catholics and High Churchmen, or that they were exclusively Tories, would be an assumption unwarranted by the facts. Extremes sometimes meet; and if discontented Whigs did not always obtain the reward which at their own valuation they supposed their services deserved, they marked their displeasure by coquetting with the Jacobites. Such a one was Admiral Russell. There was moreover a handful of Dissenters who, with a strange forgetfulness of the Act of Toleration, still continued to support the cause of James. Such a one was Stephen Lobb, an Independent who ministered to a congregation in Fetter Lane, and did his best to sow disunion in the Non-conformist ranks. The conduct of William Penn the Quaker, the old friend of the ex-King, perhaps does more credit to his heart than to his head; or, to take a more charitable view, the explanation may be found in his genuine desire to obtain for the Papists at least a partial toleration. Sir Thomas Clarges at any rate asserted in the House of Commons his belief that 'Penn's

Quakers' were 'eager for an indulgence to the Papists.'[1] But the cases of disappointed Whigs and of Dissenters who cherished an affection for King James were an exception to the rule. Such as there were formed the bulk of that section of the Jacobites who were known as the 'Compounders'—those, that is to say, who were ready to bring the ex-King back on terms. But the majority, the 'Non-Compounders,' who were averse from making any such compromise as this, was composed of Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and High Churchmen. The thorough-paced Jacobite, who was not inclined to stop at mere sentimental vapouring, was in fact usually a Tory of the most uncompromising type.

The old classes of ultra-Tories, who were Papists either open or concealed, was now enlarged by the inclusion of the Jacobites who were genuinely Protestants at heart. The number of the Tory secessionists was therefore larger, and the schism gaped wider than before. The mere existence of a dissentient section was in itself a grave source of weakness to the party as a whole. What precisely was the numerical strength of the Jacobites it is difficult to estimate. The Jacobite peers, exclusive of the Roman Catholics, soon after the Revolution, were, in the opinion of Hallam, no more than thirty, while those in the House of Commons were in a far less proportion. It may, therefore, be concluded that in numbers at least the Jacobites were no inconsiderable group, though they were very far from being 'the true bulk of the Tory party,' to use Burnet's expression. It is clear, however, that they were numerous enough to become a great embarrassment.

If the Jacobites had exhibited even a moderate degree of discretion and ability, they might have become much more troublesome than in fact at any time they were. But like almost all extremists, they allowed their ill-regulated zeal to get the better of their prudence. They babbled; they appeared as hungry applicants for office; they fought among themselves. The 'Middletonians' and 'Melfordians' formed a pair of wrangling groups.[2] The English Jacobites, again, differed profoundly from the Irish, who had the single end in view of national

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 265.

[2] *The Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. pp. 272, 352, 357.

independence. Then their conduct was foolish and shortsighted. To condemn the Act of Grace upon the ground that it proved that William did not believe the accusations made against the Government of James was a strange infatuation. It was no wonder that it was asserted by the Whigs that this very indulgence kept the Jacobites alive, who, if justice had been done, would have been very quickly crushed. The futility of their conduct was only equalled by their egregious lack of taste. They were rude to Queen Mary while she lived, and when she died they set the church bells ringing as though to signalise a victory. But though willing to wound, the Jacobites were yet afraid to strike ; they toyed with treason and shrank back in terror when they came face to face with action. So they spent their time in making bets that within a certain period James II. or his son would be upon the throne, or that William would suffer defeat in Ireland ; or in celebrating the Prince of Wales's birthday ; or in drinking toasts veiled in mysterious words and cabalistic phrases ; or in holding meetings where they listened to a nonjuring parson while he read the prayers for James II. ; or in serenading Lord Carmarthen with seditious songs which they sang beneath his windows ; or in receiving money from Versailles at a trysting place within St. James's Park ; or in hearing a sermon from a French minister who denounced William as *rex diabolorum* and prophesied that England would never prosper until the Stewarts were restored.[1] Meanwhile the Government was content, as a rule, to bear with their follies until they festered into crimes. They made occasional arrests, and in flagrant cases brought prominent criminals to trial, and took precautions which sometimes savoured of preternatural suspicion.

It is a strong testimony to the indestructible character of Toryism that it not merely survived the discredit brought upon it by the extremists of the party, but that it also continued to take an influential, and sometimes even a dominant share, in shaping the destinies of the country. For when the Jacobites did not actually involve themselves in treason, they were the basest opportunists. 'As long as the Government,' said one of

[1] Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. i. pp. 178, 387 ; vol. ii. p. 506 ; vol. iii. p. 207 ; The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* vii. Appendix, The House of Lords Papers, p. 196.

them by way of self-defence, 'can maintain itself, and will maintain me, it is sure of me; but I have lived too long at Court to die a martyr for any monarch, and will always behave myself so in one court as to be well with the next.' Yet the Tories represented a solid mass of national sentiment which it was impossible for a wise ruler to ignore. William, indeed, for a time at least displayed an inclination to rely more and more upon the Tories to the exclusion of the Whigs. Shrewsbury had in 1690 given up the seals of office, and no Whig was appointed to fill the vacant place. In 1692 there were some further ministerial changes, Pembroke becoming Privy Seal, while Lord Cornwallis, a moderate Tory, and Sir John Lowther joined the Board of Admiralty. The accession of Sir Edward Seymour to the Treasury and of Rochester to the Privy Council occasioned some surprise, and even some disgust among those old-fashioned Tories who looked upon the Government of William as an accursed thing, with which no self-respecting man would have anything to do. Seymour's pride was overweening, and Rochester's temper was imperious and intractable to a degree that William was almost unable to endure. He told the King, for instance, that princes should not only hear good advice, but take it. Yet the Tories commanded great interests in the country, and William did well in attempting to win them over to his side. It was perhaps at this moment that they reached the zenith of their influence and power during the period that elapsed between the flight of James II. and the accession of Queen Anne. But little by little their authority ebbed away as the offices they vacated were filled by a group of eager and energetic Whigs. In 1696 Somers was made Lord Keeper, a place which for the four previous years had been put into commission. The appointment, moreover, of Trenchard, an advanced Whig, to be a Secretary of State, must have been extremely galling to his Tory colleague Nottingham; and indeed, when Russell was placed at the Admiralty Board, he made it a convenient opportunity to resign the seals of office. In 1694 the Whig element in the ministry may be said to have become predominant; for Seymour was succeeded by John Smith, and Shrewsbury reluctantly consented to take once again a Secretaryship of State. The sole Tories who remained were Carmarthen, who, as President of the Council clung desperately

to the emoluments of office, and was consoled for loss of power by being raised to the highest step in the peerage under the title of the Duke of Leeds ; and Godolphin, whose talents and mastery of finance could ill be spared. It was evident in fact—as the by-elections showed—that with the lapse of time the nation as a whole was beginning to be reconciled to the Government of William, and that the tide was flowing strongly in favour of the Whigs. Now it was that an apparently incongruous and ill-assorted group of statesmen—Russell, Somers, Montague, and Wharton, began to loom large before the public eye. A more curious phenomenon in English political life was perhaps never seen than the quartette who, under the nickname of the *Junto*, continued to guide the Whig councils for a considerable portion of two reigns, and to exasperate the Tories by the unflagging pertinacity with which they pursued and carried off the fruits of office. The rise of the *Junto* synchronised very nearly with the earliest approximation to a great constitutional principle, to which the gradual evolution of events had long been tending. James II., it is true, had governed through a group of ultra-Tories, but he had either packed the House of Commons or dispensed with its services altogether. William, acting upon the advice, it is said, of Sunderland, resolved to form a Government that should possess as far as possible the confidence of the party in the majority in the House of Commons. The bickerings, the domestic feuds of what too often can only be described as ministries of caretakers, did not make, as he perceived, for administrative efficiency, and he decided to appoint a homogeneous Government and to make it an executive committee of the majority in parliament. The general election of 1695, which resulted in a substantial victory for the Whigs, confirmed a resolution that was more pregnant of consequences than anyone at the time was able to foresee. For the first time in English history at any rate, something like a purely Whig ministry was formed, for even the apparently indispensable Godolphin could not resist the pressure which forced him to resign. The Duke of Leeds, it is true, was suffered to retain the shadow, though not the substance, of authority, and Pembroke's Toryism was of a very mild and yielding type. Circumstances, however, were inopportune, and a new constitutional principle rather grows

than is created. The elections of 1698, though they thinned the Whig ranks, did not give the Tories a majority. Yet they were formidable enough to require, so William thought, to be conciliated. The Duke of Leeds, sinking beneath the weight of years, of broken health, and a charge of corruption which the world believed to be well-founded, was forced to resign the Presidency of the Council, where he was succeeded by Pembroke. The way now lay open to afford the Tories some appeasement, and accordingly Lowther, now Viscount Lonsdale, was appointed Privy Seal, and Lord Jersey took the Secretaryship of State, which Sir William Trumball had vacated. The general election of 1701—the last of William's reign—went in favour of the Whigs, but whether William, if he had lived, would have formed a complete Whig administration must remain a question of barren speculation that it is impossible to solve.

It will be convenient at this point to trace very briefly the vicissitudes of the Tories from 1690 when, as we have seen, the elections gave them a majority, until the close of William's reign. Only once again—in 1698—did they make a rally at the polls. The elections of 1695, in particular, were exceedingly disastrous to the party. All the four seats in the City of London and the two at Westminster were carried by the Whigs. Even Sir John Knight, the arch-Tory, was overwhelmed at Bristol, and, to the astonishment of everybody Sir Edward Seymour, who was supposed to carry the West of England in the hollow of his hand, was rejected at Exeter, and forced to seek a refuge in Totnes. From the date of his retirement from office his influence and reputation had both steadily declined. His policy of parliamentary obstruction was that of one who was bankrupt in resource. Now it was that he became the leading spirit of the so-called Association of the Thirty Tories—a kind of cave—of which, John Howe, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Heneage Finch, and Simon Harcourt were among the chiefs. They boldly resolved that they would not pay any subsidies to carry on the war, and vowed that if any one of them was sent to the Tower, the rest would share the same fate.[1] It was all high talk which was never

[1] *The Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. pp. 359–360.

translated into action. The unravelling of the assassination plot, however, gave these discontented Tories an opportunity of which they made the most; for to the proposal that members of parliament should be called upon to enrol themselves in the Association that recognised William as rightful and lawful King they offered their strongest opposition. But it was not until 1698 that any sign appeared that the Tories as a whole were gaining influence in the country. Now it was that, by a curious inversion of old terms, they began to call their opponents the 'Court,' and themselves the 'Country' party.

At the general election they won some seats. Seymour, for instance, recovered his old constituency at Exeter, and a seat in the City of London was wrested from the Whigs. But the Tory policy of opposition to the war was not generally popular, and a great Whig victory in 1701 revealed the opinion of the country. In the City of London and at Westminster the Tories did not win a single seat, and it is worth a passing notice that Sir Isaac Newton was again returned for Cambridge University. 'Most of the great counties,' says Burnet, 'and the chief cities, chose men that were zealous for the King and Government, but the rotten part of our constitution, the small boroughs, were in many places wrought on to those bad men.' In using the expression 'those bad men,' Burnet showed more than his usual party prejudice; for the Tories doubtless were not entirely without warrant when they argued that the Whig money-lenders were pecuniarily interested in the continuance of the war. It is evident, however, that the passions of party were inflamed to an extraordinary pitch. The action of the recent majority in the House of Commons in impeaching the ministers who sanctioned the Partition Treaties, followed by the recognition of the Pretender by Louis XIV., had caused a great revulsion in popular opinion. Writing to the Earl of Manchester, Matthew Prior refers in vigorous terms to the political cyclone that was sweeping over the country. 'But sure,' he says, 'there never was so much work as at present in securing parties and bribing elections. Whig and Tory are railing, on both sides, so violent, that the Government may easily be overturned by the madness of either faction. We take it to be our play to do nothing against common sense or common law, and to be for

those who will support the Crown rather than oblige either party.'[1] But to stand above party was a counsel of perfection, and when William in his speech to parliament at the close of 1701 uttered a passionate plea for unity, his words fell on deaf ears. 'Let there,' he said, 'be no other distinction heard among us for the future but of those who are for the Protestant religion, and the present Establishment, and of those who mean a Popish Prince and a French government.'[2] But such appeals were futile amid the hurtling storm of faction—a state of things for which the Tories perhaps must bear the largest share of blame. Never perhaps was a bitterer reflection passed on English political life than that of Shrewsbury, when he told Somers that he wondered that a man could be found in England who had bread that would be concerned in public business. 'Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman.' To this terrible conclusion had a few years of public life driven one of the most high-minded statesmen of his age.

The reign of William III. has been described as dull, prosaic, and uninteresting; and it is certainly true to say that, compared with previous periods, it lacks some of the charms of high romance. Passions were no longer at white heat; compromise was in the air; sagacious, cool, hard-headed statesmen had the conduct of affairs. The King himself had none of that magnetic personality which in smaller men sometimes covers a multitude of sins. To describe his reign as on the whole 'the most successful and the most splendid in the history of any country'[3] is perhaps to say too much; but from the point of view of the conflict of political forces there is no more interesting reign in English history. At no period can the interplay of the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in society be so clearly seen in operation, or the resultant effects of their composition be perceived with such distinctness. It will be of some interest to note in what directions the associative forces of Toryism clashed with those of a disintegrating kind, and what were the

[1] Prior's *History of His Own Time*, compiled from his MSS. by Adrian Drift, p. 182.

[2] *Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford*, by E. S. Roscoe, p. 34.

[3] Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, ch. vii.

consequential issues; to trace the modes and observe the instances in which the former either prevailed over, or profoundly modified the latter, or were themselves overcome or counterbalanced. For there is scarcely a period in English history more fruitful in far-reaching and permanent results, or from which a larger number of modern institutions may be said to have originated. The various modes of the conflict may be severally considered.

Though the desire for a strong and consolidated government lies at the basis of Toryism, the question into what hands ultimate authority should be placed has not seldom, even among the Tories themselves, been a subject of dispute. A popular chamber invariably demands the possession not merely of the semblance, but also of the reality of power, and the English House of Commons in the seventeenth century gave evident signs of its intention not to submit to be an exception to the rule. It attempted, and successfully attempted, to enlarge its sphere of action, to arrogate authority to itself, and encroach on the prerogatives of the Crown. To preserve those prerogatives is, indeed, the natural Tory inclination; but a Tory in the House of Commons is influenced insensibly by the genius of the place. He becomes no less jealous than the Whig for the privileges, the position, the prestige of the assembly of which he feels proud to be a member. How even in the reign of Charles II. the Tory Parliament-men helped the Puritan party to encroach upon the authority of the Crown there has been already occasion to remark. The whole question of the distribution of powers among the several organs of the constitution gave rise to a distinct class of incidents during the period now before us. The part—neither small nor unimportant—that the Tories played therein now falls to be considered.

The first stirrings of the new spirit, which came in with the Revolution, showed themselves in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere; in such efforts, for example, as the Comprehension Bill and the Act of Toleration. The next manifestation was political and secular; in the attempts, that is to say, which were made to grapple with the question of parliamentary reform. The matter was, of course, of supreme moment to the Tories, and it is of some importance to observe their attitude towards it.

The seventeenth century notions of parliamentary reform were widely different from those which have occupied men's minds in later time. Such remedies as an alteration of the franchise or a redistribution of seats seem scarcely to have been thought of ; or, if they were, the exigencies of party or the prejudices of long custom made them, at any rate, impracticable. It would almost appear as though the House of Commons, becoming introspective, turned its eyes more upon itself than upon the constituencies which it was supposed to represent ; that it was chiefly solicitous for its own powers, privileges and position ; that it dwelt more upon its relations to the Crown than its relations to the people. But, however that may be, the members appear to have taken themselves and their duties very seriously. For the reason perhaps that in theory—though the practice was obsolete —they were entitled to receive wages from their constituencies, they both individually and collectively were assiduous in attending to their parliamentary duties. Samuel Pepys, indeed, lamented the discontinuance of the payments, because, as he asserted, the electors formerly 'chose men that understood their business, and would attend to it, and then could expect an account, but now they cannot.' [1] That members could not, in theory, at any rate, give their services gratuitously may perhaps have inspired them with a sense of obligation ; but however that may be, the rules of the House which prohibited absence without leave, provided for a roll-call, and imposed fines for non-attendance, were stringent and, sometimes at least, were rigidly enforced. That the House held itself in no small estimation may be inferred from a mass of circumstantial detail. When, for example, in 1677 the Speaker expelled Colonel Wanklyn for a gross abuse of privilege, he expatiated on the fact of his being 'cut off from this glorious body' ; and we read that even so hardened an offender 'went away weeping.' [2] Nor can it be doubted that the House, though it sometimes made itself unpopular, was to the nation at large an object of respect and even dread. Defoe did not exaggerate when he said that the bar of the House of Commons was the worst pillory in the country. Yet when the House in the year 1692, stimulated, as it were, by the vivifying impulses of the time, took up the question of reform,

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. v. p. 57.

it seems to have given but little thought to its relations with the constituencies outside. It did not even seize the opportunity to diminish the crying evils of electoral corruptions, evils so systematically practised as almost to nullify in many instances the representative character of the elections. And though in some cases the elections were declared void, and the man elected sent to prison, the House of Commons displayed a scandalous partiality over questions of the validity of electoral returns. 'That which was voted corruption in the Whigs was called the giving alms in the Tories'—at least, so Burnet informs us.[1] And though the Whigs were probably more profuse, because the rich traders endeavoured to outbid the landed gentry, the Tories, in intention at any rate, were certainly no better; so that at the close of William's reign the old vice was just as rampant as it was at the beginning. A correspondent of the year 1701 declares that from forty to fifty pounds were being demanded for a vote; and another, writing in the same year, alleges that at Derby a gang of fifty beggars were made burgesses for the purpose of voting at the election. 'God be merciful to us!' exclaimed the writer, 'for if a speedy stop be not put to this growing evil England is undone.'[2]

How great a measure of reform with regard to the purity of elections might have been carried by either party, if they had had the will to do so, may be inferred from the incidents which have just been briefly summarised. But perhaps from self-interest, or because it was supposed that there were still greater wounds in the body politic which cried aloud for treatment, both parties sought amelioration in a different kind of remedy. One of these was what in the terminology of the time was called a Place Bill. To the plan—initiated by Clifford and organised by Danby—by which the Crown, acting through its ministers, kept members of parliament in its pay by means of places, pensions, sinecures, and money gifts, some reference has been made. It is impossible to say whether the Whigs or the Tories were more blameable for what a writer in the next reign pronounced to be 'that detestable art of poisoning our constitution.'

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 476.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xv. part iv.: The Papers of the Duke of Portland, pp. 13, 29.

For Whigs were not ashamed to receive what Tories did not blush to offer. To the Tories, at any rate, must be ascribed the doubtful honour of carrying furthest that plan of 'taking off Parliament-men,' which, says Burnet, was soon after the Revolution 'very generally practised.' [1] And to a Tory of no unblemished reputation for scrupulosity the credit must be given for strenuous exertions to turn a vile system to the advantage of his party. An able and energetic lawyer, Sir John Trevor was not the sort of man to let what he conceived to be a quixotic sense of honour bar the way to professional advancement; a strong party fighter, it was no concern of his to rise above the average political morality of the day. And so by conformity to contemporary standards he climbed the ladder of ambition. In 1685 he was chosen Speaker and Master of the Rolls, and though the Revolution interrupted for a while the even tenour of a prosperous career, it was not long before he was elected to fill both positions again. Now it was that he undertook to make himself the industrious agent, the venal broker, in corrupt parliamentary transactions. That he actually offered his services in this capacity to the King, as is stated by Burnet, it is perhaps impossible to say with absolute certainty; [2] but that he was the chief manager for his party in the distribution of a fund that was placed at his disposal it is impossible to doubt. His own expulsion from the House for receiving a bribe of a thousand guineas from the Common Council of the City, brought this part of his career to an ignominious close, though he was permitted to retain his high judicial office, a striking testimony to the curious character of the ethical code of honour which then prevailed. In a world of venality there were few whose hands were clean. What were thought to be the ordinary emoluments of office would now be plainly called embezzlements. Between the two parties there was not a pin to choose. Extravagant cases did, indeed, arouse in the House of Commons some affected indignation, but it is clear that sometimes it was not so much the thing as the manner that gave offence. It was, for example, for a breach of etiquette in obtaining money from the King that

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 76.

Lord Falkland was committed to the Tower.[1] The House, nevertheless, had realised the fact that, if it was to retain the confidence of the nation, some reform was urgently required. The nicknames of the 'Standing Parliament' and the 'Officers' Parliament'[2] bore witness to the state of the popular opinion on the subject. Two schemes were accordingly proposed, and both, when reduced to legislative form, were carried in a House where the majority was Tory. The Place Bill introduced in 1692, which proposed to expel all members who accepted places after the 1st of February, 1693, was defeated in the House of Lords by the small majority of two. The dissenting peers objected, because the existing House of Commons declined to make the Bill affect itself and because, says Burnet, they thought that 'it seemed to establish an opposition between the Crown and the people, as if those who were employed by the one could not be trusted by the other.' In the following year an amended Bill to secure, as it was said, 'free and impartial proceedings in Parliament,' passed both Houses; but though it contained the material provision that it should not apply to members who should be re-elected to serve in the same Parliament, it was vetoed by the King. The Commons professed to be exceedingly indignant, and passed a resolution that whoever had advised the King to refuse his assent was the enemy of his country. They made a representation to him on the subject to the effect that they believed that he acted as he did owing to his 'being unacquainted with the constitutions of Parliament, and because of the insinuations of particular persons who take upon them for their own particular ends to advise your Majesty contrary to the advice of Parliament.'[3] The fact that in the following year a Place Bill failed to pass the House of Commons in itself suggests a doubt whether the recent display of indignation was perfectly sincere. But be that as it may, it was not until the Act of Settlement was passed in 1701 by a Tory House of Commons that the principle was carried out in legislative form; and even then its operation was suspended until after the accession of the House of Hanover. The repeal of the clause in 1706, and the sub-

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 310.
[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 189.
[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. p. 380.

stitution of a new one providing for the re-election of a member who had vacated his seat on the acceptance of office, brings the history of this much agitated question to a close.

The Place Bills of 1692 and 1693 were carried by Tory majorities in the Commons—a fact which affords some matter for reflection. The fact that the King took the most unusual step of vetoing the Bill of 1693 reveals the true character of the measure; it shows that he believed that it would greatly limit his power of controlling and influencing the House. And he was right. All kinds of arguments, however, some relevant and some not, were used on one side or the other. While some declared that the Bill proved how virtuous members were, others retorted that it was only the appearance and not the reality of virtue that they were anxious to display. While its promoters were stigmatised as popularity-mongers, the opposition was accused of endeavouring to deprive them of the credit to which they were entitled. Those, again, who voted for the Bill were alleged to be making an ostentatious show of their independence of the Crown, and those who did not of making a no less ostentatious show of their independence of the people. But above the din of the babble the simple fact emerges that many Tories were quite willing to increase the authority of the House of Commons by severely limiting the King's power to influence its proceedings. There was one aspect of the case, however, that they seem to have overlooked or disregarded, and that is, that ministers without seats in Parliament would be to an indefinite extent withdrawn from parliamentary control. Besides, as Marvell said, men in office are 'more good-natured and less dangerous to the publick, than those who are hungry and out of office.' [1] It was this consideration, perhaps, which awakened some uncertainty and doubt and caused the defeat of the Bill of 1694. As supporters of the Crown, the Tories viewed with disfavour the diminution of its powers; as members of parliament, they loved to augment their own independence. Under the circumstances they were not disinclined to let the matter drop.

While some sought a remedy for the political discontents of the time in the House of Commons purified of pensioners and

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. iv. p. 327.

placemen, others urged that the duration of parliaments should be shortened. It was not the first time that the matter had been the subject of debate and of legislative action. The revolutionary Long Parliament passed in 1641 an Act which provided for the holding of annual sessions and for the summoning of parliament, if it had not been called together for three years. But there was no machinery provided to limit its duration. In 1664 the Act was repealed by the Tory and reactionary parliament which sat for such a prolonged period during the reign of Charles II. It is evident, therefore, that whether the life of a parliament depended upon its own will or upon the prerogative of the Crown, whether revolutionaries or reactionaries predominated, a strong tendency prevailed for that life to be protracted. The evils arising from such an ill-regulated system had doubtless made a deep impression on the country, and there was a prevalent opinion that the time was ripe for some amendment. The so-called Triennial Revival Bill of 1689—which proposed to restore the Act of 1641—would have been ineffective for the purpose, and very naturally was dropped. But in 1693 the matter was taken up in a much more vigorous fashion. In the House of Lords a Bill was introduced 'for the frequent calling and meeting of parliaments'; it provided for the holding of a session at least once in every year and for summoning a new parliament annually. In the Commons an amendment was carried to make parliaments triennial instead of annual, and though the amendment was accepted by the Lords, the Bill was vetoed by the King. When later in the year the Bill was revived in the House of Lords, the Commons seem to have resented the interference of the Peers, for the Bill was then rejected. Finally in 1694 an Act providing for triennial parliaments, but not for annual sessions, received the royal assent. Such, very briefly, appears to be the history of the Triennial Bills, when disentangled from a mass of circumstantial details.[1]

At this unexpected action of the King the House of Commons was visibly annoyed; for which after all it was perhaps to some

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv. part vi.: Introduction, pp. 13–15; *Report* xii. parts v. and vi.: The Papers of the House of Lords, p. 343; vol. i., new series: The Papers of the House of Lords, Introduction, p. 21.

extent to blame. For as Sir John Lowther pertinently asked, 'What can be done by the King, when one side informs evil of the other?' When, later in the year, the Bill was revived in the House of Lords, the Commons, it would seem, resented the interference of the Peers, for the Bill was then rejected. In particular, the fixing by the hereditary chamber of the date of dissolution was regarded as an insult; or, as Colonel Titus characteristically put it, 'St. Paul desired to be dissolved, but if any of his friends had set him a day, he would not have taken it well of him.' [1] It is curious to observe that the necessity for passing the Mutiny Act every year rendered any provision for annual sessions superfluous. Thus strangely in an unexpected manner did the institution of the standing army work to secure British constitutional liberties. The dislike for protracted parliaments was very forcibly exhibited in the course of the debates on the Triennial Bills. 'I had rather have a standing army than a standing parliament,' said one speaker; 'the two great mischiefs of this Kingdom,' said another, 'are either to have no parliaments, or to have long parliaments'; 'Manna,' exclaimed Colonel Titus, 'when it fell, was sweet as honey, but if kept bred worms.' [2]

That the Tories, as a whole, were favourably inclined to a Place Bill we have already seen. What then, was their attitude towards the different measures which ultimately resulted in the passing of the Triennial Act? There can be no question but that both parties were keenly alive to the evils resulting from a system under which the duration of a parliament might be indefinitely prolonged.

It is probable, therefore, that both Whigs and Tories were agreed that the duration of parliaments should at any rate to some extent be limited. Yet there can be no doubt but that the Whigs were the more heartily supporters of the measure. For the Triennial Act did in fact run counter to some of the most deeply seated Tory principles. By limiting the power of the Crown to prolong a parliament subservient to its will, it seriously encroached on the prerogative; and though William gave as a reason for his veto, that when he saved the English constitution

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 825.
[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x. p. 308.

he found it to be the best in the world, and that he would not presume to attempt to make it better, his hearers must have smiled at a pretence, that was intended to be gracious, but was perfectly transparent. When he urged that he feared for the future stability of parliaments, he used a genuine Tory argument. It was, indeed, an argument for which there was a good deal to be said ; yet there were many Tories who not only voted, but also spoke in favour of the Act, which became law while a Tory majority dominated the House of Commons. The fact is all the more remarkable because in later times the demand for short parliaments came from the extreme democrats or radicals. The measure was, indeed, one which was genuinely popular. Not only was it thought that it would tend to make members of the House more careful how they voted, to check the profligate expenditure of candidates at elections, and to make character and reputation weigh more heavily in the scale, but it also was evident that it brought parliament into closer contact with the people from whom in the last resort it drew its being and authority. The Act was one, therefore, which the Whigs as the more democratic party could with more consistency support.

Though the House of Commons in the several ways which have been mentioned made some serious and partially successful efforts to reform itself, it never ceased to endeavour to extend its authority and power. Of the manner in which the popular chamber in previous reigns extended the sphere of its control and encroached upon the prerogatives of the Crown something already has been said. During the reign of William III. the process was continued. There are, indeed, few things more remarkable than the way in which both Whig and Tory members, in their zeal for the corporate entity of the House, appeared to sink their principles. In the personality of the member of parliament the party man, so to speak, became submerged. That the Tories should have made themselves in a special degree the guardians of the prerogatives of the Crown, and the Whigs have made themselves the protagonists of the people, might well have been expected. But when the rights and privileges of the House of Commons were in question, both parties put their principles aside. Though they desired a strong and

consolidated government, it was in the lower chamber that the Tory members thought that such a government should be centred; and though they posed as the protectors of the people, the Whig members had not the least intention that the people should influence the House. It will be of some interest to observe how in various ways, relatively to the Crown, the House of Lords, and even to the constituencies at large, the House of Commons continued during the period now before us to enlarge its sphere of action—the more so because in this course of constitutional development the Tories played no inconsiderable part.

Between the two Houses there did not exist that 'fair correspondency' which ought to have prevailed. The contests between them were sometimes keen and sharp—so much so, indeed, that the usual lines of party cleavage were completely lost to view. Though the Lords sometimes got their way—as they did when they defeated the Land Qualification Bill in 1696—the Commons usually prevailed. When for instance in 1693, the Upper House tried to amend the Land Tax Bill, the Commons objected to what they asserted was an invasion of their privileges. The Lords, with a discretion that was the better part of valour, declined a conflict: 'purely in consideration,' they alleged, 'of the pressing exigency of affairs, being otherwise of opinion that they might have insisted upon it.'[1] Again, when in 1700 the Commons tacked some provisions relative to the forfeited Irish estates to a Bill of Supply, the Lords passed some drastic amendments—a course of proceeding which roused the lower chamber to a storm of indignation. The King interposed to calm the troubled waters, and sent a private message to the Lords to pass the Bill—which they did without demur. But 'this tacking of Bills,' was, as Evelyn said, 'a novel practice,' and one to which the Lords had some warrant to object. For in this way, he declared, 'neere sixty bills were passed, to the greate triumph of the Commons.' It was an evil precedent; and yet it was in parliaments dominated by the Tories that we discover its most flagrant illustrations. So careless of their principles were the representatives of the party of conservatism, when those principles conflicted with their

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 755.

interests! But it was not only in contests with the Lords that the Commons were animated to make trials of their strength. They did not scruple to make fresh demands upon the Crown—demands which in their essence and their spirit involved a considerable surrender of the prerogative and an enlargement of their own constitutional sphere of action. It was in a Tory House of Commons that toward the close of William's reign the impeachment of the Whig ministers was set on foot, and their perpetual exclusion from the King's councils was angrily demanded. A more vigorous expression of the principle of the responsibility of ministers to parliament instead of to the Crown had never yet been made. Of the danger arising from the enjoyment of power without responsibility, the House of Commons at this juncture affords a crucial instance. Unconscious of any real responsibility, it exulted in its newly found authority. Its insolent pretensions, which almost savoured of a despotism, were in fact bitterly resented, and soon brought about a strong reaction. They reached a culminating point in the case of the Kentish petitioners. It so happened that at the Quarter Sessions held at Maidstone in April 1701 the Grand Jury drew up a petition to the House of Commons. Signed not only unanimously by the justices and by Colepeper the chairman, but also by a large number of freeholders in the country, it was in due course carried to London by five of the leading country gentlemen and presented to the House. The document, though perfectly temperate and respectful, insisted on the duty of the Commons to come, at a dangerous crisis of affairs, to a 'speedy resolution.' It implored them to have regard 'to the voice of the people' and instead of offering loyal addresses to the Crown to pass bills of supply. But the result was very different from what the well-meaning, but perhaps scarcely judicious, petitioners intended. The House was at once in a flame at what it regarded as an impertinent interference with its rights. Forgetting that it was only in the reign of Charles II. they had passed a resolution that it was the inherent right of every person to present petitions, and the House to receive them, it resolved that the petition was scandalous, insolent and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of parliaments, and to subvert the established government of these

realms. Passions waxed hot in the course of the debate. 'If,' exclaimed Howe, 'there were one hundred thousand hands to the petition they should be made example of.' Sir Edward Seymour declared that it 'smelt of forty-one,' and suggested that the whole county should be doubly taxed, and that the estates of the presenters of the petition should be confiscated and devoted to the purpose of carrying on the war.[1] The unlucky 'five' were committed to prison, where they lay until the prorogation set them free. But even this punishment did not suffice in the case of Colepeper. This doughty champion had declared that if every tile upon the Chapel of St. Stephen's were a devil, he would have presented the petition, and on the ensuing dissolution he was an unsuccessful parliamentary candidate. When he claimed the seat, the new House raked up his old offence, ordered his prosecution, and committed him to Newgate, where he remained until he tendered an apology.

It is of great interest to note what the people generally thought of the conduct of their representative chamber. That was not for an instant left in doubt. It is not too much to say that the most popular persons in the kingdom were the five petitioners of Kent. Theirs was a veritable triumph. Great, indeed, was the resentment of the nation at the arbitrary conduct of the Commons. By a strange paradox the popular chamber became for the moment the best-hated institution in the country. At least one protest was presented to the House of Commons itself. *The Legion's Memorial*—the composition of which is attributed to Defoe—was certainly direct and out-spoken beyond the common mode. It styled Howe 'the impudent scandal of Parliament'; it asserted the claim of the people to be masters and their right to petition; it affirmed that the House was inferior just 'as the person sent is less than the sender,' and that 'Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliament than to Kings'; it charged against the House the neglect of such duties as the great work of reformation of manners, and that it contained among its members 'public blasphemers and impudent deniers of the Divinity of our Saviour.' The whole episode is one of the most remarkable in the history of

[1] *Later Stuart Tracts* (An English Garner), 'The History of the Kentish Petition.'

English parliamentary institutions, and affords a significant illustration of the power of conservative instincts to enchain even an elected chamber. It is characteristic of the Tories that in their anxiety to render the House of Commons a self-reliant and strongly-ruling body they contrived to make it anti-popular.

The expanding forces which ushered in the Revolution, and continued, though with gradually declining energy, to operate until the close of William's reign, were almost ineffective in producing a real parliamentary reform. But in another direction, in the regulation of the press, that is to say, they worked a very salutary change. Fearing innovation, dreading the growth of new ideas, looking askance at the exercise of private judgement, Toryism had viewed with no friendly eyes the journal and the book. They were, so they imagined, a necessary evil—something, indeed, which could not be extirpated but could be rendered harmless if properly managed and controlled. The press licence was, therefore, an essential part of Tory policy. One of the first actions of the first parliament of James II. had been to re-enact the statute for the regulation of the press for a further period. When in 1692 that term was quickly running to its close, the whole question was re-opened. That it could ultimately have been otherwise settled it is almost impossible to suppose, but it is probable that the result was accelerated by the conduct of the persons to whom in succession the important office of licenser of the press was entrusted. It was of course out of all question that a Tory, like L'Estrange, steeped to the lips in party prejudice, should be suffered to fill the office after a successful revolution. So a zealous Whig, 'Catalogue' Fraser, was appointed in his place. But in seeking to avoid Charybdis the Government fell upon Scylla. For Fraser, though he was doubtless a learned bibliographer, and was applauded for his fairness by the Whigs, deeply wounded the feelings of the Tories. When he licensed for publication a work by one Walker, which purported to prove that the *Eikon Basilike* was written by Bishop Gauden, he unwittingly raised a storm that it was impossible to quell. For, from the Tory point of view, to deny that the *Eikon Basilike* was written by Charles I. was scarcely less than blasphemy.

It was only by Fraser's resignation that calm could be restored. The Tories by this time were in power, and in appointing Edmund Bohun to fill the vacant office they had some justification for supposing that he would carry out the duties with a fair impartiality. For though he took the oaths of allegiance he contrived to hold the Tory principles in their most exaggerated form. This singular personage was born in 1645, and though he was brought up a Dissenter, when he grew to man's estate he became the strenuous champion of the dogmas of divine right and passive obedience. In 1684 he published a defence of Filmer's *Patriarcha* against the attacks of Algernon Sydney, and in the following year he brought out a new edition of the book with an introduction and an epilogue. It is perhaps needless to remark that the editorial comments sound no less absurd in modern ears than the arguments advanced in the body of that egregious work. Suffice it to say that Bohun endeavoured to show that the Mosaic account of the Creation involved the patriarchal theory—a theory, therefore, that gave most honour to God and most security to rulers and their subjects. It might have been supposed that the Revolution would have been to Bohun a most embarrassing event, but such indeed was very far from being the case. In his history of James II.'s desertion he proved to his own satisfaction, if not to that of others, that he was perfectly justified in transferring his allegiance; and in another tract he tried to show that the doctrine of passive obedience was in no way concerned in the controversy between the Government and the Jacobites. He was, in short, a rare example of what was known as a 'non-resisting Williamite.'[1] Such was the peculiar political position of the man who stepped into the office which the unlucky Fraser had vacated. But his reign was briefer still, and ended more disastrously. By his refusal to license some Whiggish compositions he aroused no little discontent, and, what was worse, the bitter personal enmity of a person whom he described as 'a violent outrageous Whig.' Charles Blount—for such he turned out to be—revenged himself by laying a trap into which Bohun easily fell. An anonymous work, entitled *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*, which was really written by Blount, was one day

[1] Bohun's *The Doctrine of Non-Resistance.*

submitted to the Censor of the press for his approval. Bohun read it, to use his own words, 'with incredible satisfaction, finding it well written, close argument, modest and full of reason.' Thinking that the work would be likely to satisfy the Non-jurors, while it would not offend the Whigs, he licensed it at once. But he calculated wrongly. The mere suggestion that William ruled by right of conquest was, to the Whigs especially, an intolerable affront. It was in vain that the press Censor declared that the title of the book was wrongly interpreted, because it was taken to mean that not only James II. but the whole nation was subdued; it was to no purpose that he protested that the Whigs were determined to destroy him, and that his crime was that he 'had sinned against the new Apostle and Confessor,' the Reverend Samuel Johnson. The House of Commons ordered Bohun to be taken into custody and the offending book to be burned. Deprived of his office, and subsequently removed from the commission of the peace for his native county Suffolk, the unfortunate Censor nearly succumbed to the blows of party prejudice, and it was not until 1698 that by his appointment to be Chief Justice of Carolina he received some compensation. Dying in 1699, he did not enjoy the honour long.[1]

After what had happened while Fraser and Bohun controlled the press it is not surprising that parliament came to the conclusion that it would be better if the office were abolished altogether. Even a Tory majority only allowed the statute to be re-enacted for two years more, and in 1695 it was suffered to expire. Some efforts were made to revive it, and in 1697 a Bill to prevent the publication of news without a licence was introduced and rejected. But this old Tory instrument of repression, with the rust of age upon it, and blunted by indiscriminate use, was unfitted for the use of a time of greater freedom. Yet long after the expiration of the Act parliament continued to arrogate to itself the right to exercise a power that in effect was tantamount to a considerable censorship. The criticism, condemnation and repression of literary products, formed an old parliamentary privilege which was tenaciously held, and only died away under the changing influence of the

[1] *The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun*, edited by S. W. Rix.

times. The right was exercised with extraordinary freedom. In the very session in which Blount's pamphlet was condemned, a *Pastoral Letter* written by no less a person than Burnet was ordered to be burned. It was perhaps the consciousness of parliament that it retained this privilege in reserve, which induced it to abolish the restrictions on the press. For from the Tory point of view the change was revolutionary, and it is a matter of wonderment that it did not meet with more resistance than was actually the case.

We have seen in a previous chapter that among the most important of the cohesive forces of a nation are those which resist disintegrating influences from without. If the preservation of the national organism in its unity and entirety be the special function of Toryism, then it will by reason of its own essential nature tend to offer the strongest opposition to those dissociative foreign influences to which we have referred. These may operate in two ways, either in war by hostile attack or invasion, or in peace by a pacific penetration working silently but surely. It will, therefore, be of great moment to consider what during the period now before us was the attitude of the Tories towards external influences—what, in short, was the manner of their treatment of the two great questions of the standing army and of the alien immigration. The two questions are near akin ; they may be said to march together. For the political party which exhibits the strongest repugnance to the foreigner will be foremost to insist upon the duty both of maintaining a military force and of repelling alien influences by legislation or administrative action. The second portion of the topic, as the more fundamental and comprehensive in its scope, demands the first consideration.

We have in a previous chapter referred to the gradual development in Europe of what may be conveniently styled national personality. We have seen also that in England the sense of a national corporate life began comparatively early and that it was this consciousness which to a large extent inspired the English Reformation. That the Tories should have exhibited in a special degree the national prejudice towards foreigners is what might have been antecedently expected. How far

they did so, and in what manner, are questions which in a history of Toryism are important to consider.

To distinguish the patriotism, the anti-alien sentiment, the national prejudice of the Tories from that of other parties and of the community as a whole, is not always easy, and is, indeed, frequently impossible. For the feeling of aversion seemed sometimes to manifest itself among all classes in the State. In the seventeenth century at any rate it was so marked that it had come to be regarded as a distinguishing national peculiarity. Burnet observes that the English were 'too apt to despise all other nations and to over-value themselves,' while even the Tory Bishop Sprat condemned them for their unwillingness to admit new inventions and to naturalise foreigners.[1] In the reign of James I. the London apprentices so frequently insulted the Spanish Ambassador in the streets that the Government had to interfere ; and when in 1662 the Russian Ambassador proceeded in state to be received at Court, he was jeered at by the mob. It was this incident that drew from Pepys the significant remark, 'But Lord ! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at everything that looks strange.'[2] And though—as we have in a previous chapter seen—the imitation of French fashions became a kind of affectation in the cultivated circles of society, that fashion did not prevent a deep-rooted hatred of and contempt for the French from settling down upon the English nation as a whole. It does not seem to have been by any means an unknown thing for a French Ambassador to be besieged in his embassy, to have his windows broken, and even to be shot at—delicate marks of attention from the admirers of the land he represented.[3] Even the Irish and Scotch were regarded for the most part as foreigners. The Irish as Papists, in particular, were feared, hated and despised ; the Earl of Ailesbury, for example, speaks in his *Memoirs* of 'the very undigested brains peculiar to that nation.'[4] The belief that they had designs to destroy by fire the chief English towns, and to massacre the inhabitants seems almost

[1] Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, sec. 33. [2] Pepys's *Diary*.
[3] Jusserand's *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.*
[4] *The Memoirs of the Earl of Ailesbury*, vol. i. p. 251.

to have amounted to a monomania.[1] The coming of William III. was thought to be in some degree a protection against incursions from the sister isle ; at least one of his apologists, the Reverend Samuel Johnson, declared that, if he had not come, England would have been 'a wilderness of howling Irish.'[2] The legislation that prohibited the importation of Irish cattle and woollen goods into England is another indication of the attitude of the one nation towards the other. In the debate in the House of Commons upon the Irish Cattle Importation Bill it was expressly asserted both that Ireland was 'a colony of England,' and that she was 'a foreign kingdom.'[3] It is perhaps not altogether to be wondered at that the Irish repaid with interest the hatred which the Saxon felt towards them. They would not even learn the English language ; one of the greatest of the O'Neils declared that it did not become him to writhe his mouth in speaking it. The relations between the English and the Scots were not, indeed, as bad as this, though it is evident that they felt but little love for one another. The average Englishman, indeed, seems to have entertained an ill-disguised disdain for his northern neighbours, who, at the best, he thought, were merely useful for purposes of trade. As Clifford said, 'We get their tallow, and send them candles ; their hides, and send them boots and shoes. Scotland is our Indies, as Colbert calls England the King of France's Indies.'[4] Lastly—and this is perhaps the most striking illustration—when the House of Commons demanded of William III. the reduction of the army to seven thousand men, to be composed of natives only, the Irish and Scots were specifically excluded.

Of the narrow insularity of the English, their slightly arrogant contempt of, and their antipathy for foreigners, perhaps sufficient illustration has been given. From this point of view the whole nation was inherently conservative ; for it dreaded what it conceived to be denationalisation, through the disintegrating effects of alien influences. But immigrants came in all the same.

[1] *A Catalogue of Letters and Other Historical Documents Exhibited in the Library at Welbeck*, compiled by S. Arthur Strong : 'A Proclamation of William of Orange,' p. 10.

[2] S. Johnson's *Remarks on Sherlock's 'The Case for Resistance.'*

[3] Grey's *Debates*, vol. vii. pp. 91, 102. [4] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 39.

From quite an early period they began from various motives to be attracted to our shores. To the allurements of gain and self-interest was added the spur of religious persecution, so that already in the sixteenth century the stream of immigration was comparatively large, and England had begun to be, as Defoe called her long afterwards, 'the eternal refuge of the vagabond.' The national policy in its treatment of the question was fitful and uncertain. In the sixteenth century the coming of the Protestant Flemish and Walloons was encouraged by the government. Licences were granted to various towns, Norwich and Colchester, for instance, to permit the residence of aliens; and it was enacted that foreign colonists should build and maintain a Protestant church in the places where they were allowed to settle. It was hoped in this way to root the reformed religion more firmly in the land.[1] The expectation was to a large extent fulfilled; but the material advantages derived from the settlements were still more distinctly marked. Even the Tory Clarendon allowed that owing to this policy, 'the benefit to the kingdom by such an access of trade and improvement of manufactures was very considerable.'[2] That the presence of the settlers was for various reasons distasteful to the native English population is what might have been foreseen. The discontent arose partly from mere sentiment, partly from religious prejudice, and partly from the stress of competition. The High Churchmen looked askance at strangers who disseminated Puritan habits and ideas, and Clarendon relates that some of the bishops—notably Dr. Wren of Norwich—did not scruple to descend to persecution. In consequence, he tells us, many of this industrious population were driven to leave the country, taking with them 'the mystery' of their craft, and thus the manufacture of 'kerseys and narrow cloths was much diminished. But the complaints as a rule were made upon more vulgar and utilitarian grounds. Even as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth allegations of over-crowding in London were made in quite a modern style, and by an order of the Privy Council aliens were directed to disperse and reside in different country towns. The rivalry in trade, whether it was severely felt or

[1] *The Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration.*

[2] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion,* book vi.

not, of course evoked the usual murmurs. In the reign of James I., for instance, the London weavers protested that 'Aliens injure trade—employ men younger than allowed by statute —live more cheaply—and therefore sell more cheaply and engross the trade of foreigners.' It was alleged that they evaded the law restricting the number of foreigners whom they might take into their service, and that they were so numerous that they raised the price of food and house-rents.[1] If a reluctance to admit aliens was generally felt, much more did proposals to naturalise them meet with opposition. Naturalisation, when permitted, was commonly hedged about with conditions and impediments. It was not, however, until the time of the persecution, which set in motion the great exodus of Huguenot refugees, that the question became one of much importance.

Public opinion in favour of a more liberal policy was evidently growing. A House of Lords Committee, for example, appointed in 1669 to consider the causes of depression in trade, reported in favour, among other things, of an Alien Naturalisation Bill. The debate over the general Naturalisation Bill of 1673 is exceedingly instructive; for the widest differences of view were vigorously expressed. Finch, the Attorney-General, summed up the feelings of the opponents of the Bill, when he exclaimed, 'You will find them suck your blood.' On the other hand, Colonel Birch may be taken as a typical supporter of the measure. 'If,' he argued, 'the Scriptures be true that a multitude of subjects is the glory of a king, this is a good bill.'[2] In 1680 another Bill was introduced providing for the naturalisation of alien Protestants with liberty to exercise their trades in all boroughs. In 1681 the Government appeared to have assumed the competence to act without legislative authority, for an Order in Council provided for the free naturalisation of all foreign Protestants. Then in 1681 and 1685 special Acts were passed for the naturalisation of the Huguenot refugees—legislation which was to some extent of an eleemosynary character. For it undoubtedly arose from a profound feeling of charity and pity for the victims of oppression. Large sums were raised for their relief by

[1] Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens resident in England (1618-1688), published by the Camden Society.

[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. ii. p. 156.

subscriptions and bequests, and if Burnet is right in saying that the number of refugees who landed in England was from forty to fifty thousand, there was much occasion for philanthropy. When the number of the immigrants relatively to the native population is considered, it becomes easily intelligible that the whole question should have appeared to be one of some economic and political importance.[1]

Such was the state of what may be briefly summed up as the alien immigration question when the Revolution broke up the old traditional order of affairs, and introduced some entirely new factors. Hitherto alien immigration had worked in favour of the Whigs and to the disadvantage of the Tories. For the aliens by a natural tendency threw themselves into alliance with the Whigs. Flying from religious persecution, they above all things desired religious freedom, and it was the Whigs who stood for the cause of toleration. Then, again, having no connexion with the land, the aliens helped to swell the trading classes which in England stood opposed to the great Tory landed interest. The High Church party had an additional reason for disliking them, because, many of them, conforming to the Church, spread Calvinistic influences. In some cases Huguenot ministers were ordained, and Huguenot congregations were allowed to hold their services in English churches. All this, though abhorrent to the Tories, was by no means distasteful to the Dissenters and the Latitudinarian Churchmen, who were almost invariably Whigs. The alien immigrants became, indeed, of some electoral importance to the Whigs, for it was said that at the election of 1698 the Whig candidates were returned at Westminster through the influence of foreigners who had settled in large numbers in that constituency. The ultra-Tory policy of an alliance with France was exceedingly unpopular for reasons which need not be repeated here. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that the English ultra-Tories had any real intention of an anti-patriotic kind, nor that James II. was insincere in saying that he had 'a true English heart' and was jealous for the honour of the nation. Yet by a curious irony of fate they were charged with want of patriotism. It may therefore on

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* viii.: The House of Lords Papers, p. 33.

the whole be set down to the credit of the Tories that they did not offer more opposition to the Naturalisation Acts than appears to have been the case. It is true that the clause in the Act of 1685 which provided that if naturalised persons or their children should attend any church where the Anglican liturgy was not used, they should be deemed aliens, was probably intended as a sop to angry Churchmen ; nor can it be supposed that no motives were at work but those of sheer benevolence. But, however that may be, it is certain that it was the Whigs and not the Tories, who in the long run gained by the coming of the Huguenots.

There was one class of aliens who, though not numerically strong, were, upon other grounds, of special interest, and whose admission into England was a subject of particular consideration. These were the Jews. That they were totally banished from the country in the reign of Edward I. is a well-established fact, and though doubtless some of them crept back from time to time, they received no encouragement to return until the time of the Commonwealth. The proposal to permit their re-entry excited comparatively little opposition. The republican Henry Marten is said to have been the first to moot the question. But the immediately exciting cause must be looked for in the indefatigable and self-denying efforts of a celebrated Jew. Menasseh Ben Israel had given his life to the amelioration of the hard conditions of his race ; and in 1653 he published his *Humble Address* to Cromwell and his government. The Protector was large-minded enough to listen to his prayer with a favourable ear, and he appointed a commission to report upon the matter.[1] Cromwell had to fight old prejudices, but eventually he had his way. It was alleged that he intended to use the Jews as spies and to extort money from them ; but it is probable that he had no further design than commercial and political expediency : that he desired, that is to say, to tempt the Jews to transfer their business to England from the Netherlands. The question seems to have aroused no small amount of public interest, at least so much may be inferred from a contemporary pamphlet, where it is contended that the Jews should be admitted only on specified conditions, as, for instance, that they should not

[1] *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, edited by Lucien Wolf.

blaspheme Christ, nor proselytise, nor profane the Christian Sabbath; and—it is significantly added—care should be taken that no inconveniences arise from their 'covetous practices and biting usury and other subtleness in trade.'[1] The clergy more than did their best to excite the religious passions of the people, and did not scruple to ascribe to Cromwell an intention to sell St. Paul's Cathedral to the Jews for the purpose of a synagogue. An opposition such as this was of course almost certain to be futile. 'Now were the Jews admitted,' notes Evelyn in his *Diary* in December 1655, and it would be difficult to find a briefer record of an event of such importance. For the Jews were permitted to return, and upon certain conditions to reside without fear of molestation. The news spread rapidly upon the wings of rumour —so rapidly, indeed, that some Jews in Asia, were said to have rushed to the conclusion that Cromwell must be the Messiah, and had ordered an inquiry to be set on foot in Huntingdonshire. At the Restoration the hopes of the anti-Semites were revived, but it was to the credit of Charles II. that he rejected their petition. That the Jews were soon among the most respected and substantial of the citizens of London may be gathered from the testimony of one who visited their synagogue in 1662, and saw a hundred Jews, all gentlemen, he says, and richly clothed.[2] It should be added that in the reign of James II. the remission of the alien duty in the case of the Jews marked a further step in the gradual breaking down of national prejudice.

The coming of William of Orange, with a large number of Dutchmen in his train, the introduction of Dutch influences, the importation, not to say the imposition, of Dutch fashions, ideas and sentiments, to a large extent modified the English attitude of mind towards the foreigner. There is perhaps no event in English history which has helped so strongly to beat down the sundering barriers of narrow isolation; it was a staggering blow upon that citadel of proud aloofness in which the English people loved to dwell. And whereas during the Restoration period the Whigs were able to turn the national

[1] *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vii.: 'A Case of Conscience,' etc. and 'A Narrative of the Proceedings at Whitehall concerning the Jews.'

[2] Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 352.

insularity to the disadvantage of their political opponents, the Tories during the reign of William played upon it for the purpose of embarrassing the Whigs. The nation was at bottom both anti-French and anti-Dutch; and the partiality of the Tories, or rather of the small section of the ultra-Tories, for the French affronted the solid mass of national sentiment no less profoundly than did the Whig partiality for the Dutch. In the mind of the average Englishman, while France stood for Popery and arbitrary government, Holland stood for republicanism, sectarianism in religion, and rivalry in trade; and all these things were in their several ways repugnant. After the Revolution the French danger rapidly receded, to be succeeded, by another, not indeed so frightful in its mien, but certainly unwelcome. No longer haunted by the French, the English were free to focus their undivided hatred on the Dutch—and they did it with considerable zest. The longer William reigned, the sharper and more numerous became the grounds of irritation. There were grievances, indeed, either real or imaginary, which existed long before. The giant offence was of course the successful rivalry of the Netherlands in trade. 'How our neighbours and our rivals,' said Clarendon in an address to Parliament, 'who court one and the same mistress, trade and commerce, with all the world are advanced in shipping, power and an immoderate desire to engross the whole traffic of the universe, was notorious enough'; and everyone knew which the particular 'neighbour' was whom the speaker had in mind.[1] Speaking in a similar strain, Shaftesbury declared in 1672 that there was no alternative but to make war upon the Dutch; 'if we do not master their trade,' he emphatically exclaimed, 'they will ours. They or we must truckle. One must and will give the law to the other. There is no compounding, where the contest is for the trade of the whole world.' Obstructions to trade were a constant theme of complaint on the part of English merchants, who imputed all their difficulties to the pride and insolence of the Hollanders, who, they said, 'observed no laws of commerce or any conditions which themselves consented to,' and thus the English 'were almost driven out of the East and West Indies, and had their trade in Turkey and Africa much diminished.' And if the

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*.

merchants had little love for the Dutch upon material grounds the Tories abhorred them for reasons of their own. They alleged that in Holland religion was made 'subservient to trade';[1] and that it was the envy felt for the commercial advancement of the Dutch, after they had thrown off the Spanish yoke, which caused the rebellion and civil war in England. This was a view that Hobbes at least propounded. 'London and other towns of traders,' he declared, 'having in admiration the great prosperity of the Low Countries, after they had revolted from their monarch, were inclined to think the like change of government here would produce a like prosperity.'[2] How much more true was the conception of Hobbes's great contemporary Cromwell, who told the Dutch Ambassador, 'if we two could understand each other, we could dictate to Europe.'

When William set foot in England as a deliverer, he found the population suffering, so to speak, from an unusually strong fit of insularity. His own foreign birth, his uncongenial ways, his imperfect knowledge of the language, his reliance on Dutch counsellors, proved the greatest obstacles to the successful carrying on of his government and policy; and that he lived down in the end such a mass of stubborn prejudice, and even attained a degree of tepid popularity, must be taken as a proof of his extraordinary powers. Scarcely ever before had the Tories, who, as we have seen, were, many of them, opposed on principle to William's rule, found a means of attack so ready to their hands. They had only to appeal to the conservative instincts of the nation and they were sure of a response. How strong those instincts were, may be gathered from what took place in the House of Commons in 1693, when a Bill for the naturalisation of foreign Protestants was the subject of debate. It was then that Sir John Knight, the Tory member for Bristol, made a speech which was extraordinary indeed, but doubtless only expressed with brutal candour the feelings of his party. This 'gentleman of as eminent integrity and loyalty as ever the city of Bristol was honoured with'—as Roger North describes him—amazed the House with such a denunciation of the foreigner as it had never listened to before. His language was more racy than refined. 'Our palates,' he declared, 'for a long time have

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. i. p. 113.

[2] Hobbes's *Behemoth*.

been so nice, that nothing but a French cook could please them, nor could we persuade ourselves that our clothing was good, unless from head to foot we were *à la mode de France*. The gentleman was not well served without a Frenchman, and the lady's commode could not sit right, if her fine French woman did not put it on; now on a sudden the change is as violent in favour of the Dutch.' In alluding to Pharaoh and Joseph he was thought, and probably rightly, to have had the King and the Duke of Portland in his mind. The Naturalisation Bill, he averred, would bring 'as great afflictions on this nation as ever fell upon the Egyptians, and one of their plagues we have at this time very severe upon us. I mean that of their land bringing forth frogs in abundance, even in the chambers of their Kings, for there is no entering the Court of St. James's at Whitehall, the palaces of our hereditary kings, for the great noise and croaking of the froglanders.' He concluded with a motion which was thoroughly in keeping with his speech, 'that the serjeant-at-arms be commanded to open the doors, and let us kick the Bill out of the House and foreigners out of the Kingdom.' The speech was printed and dispersed throughout the country in order to inflame popular opinion against the Bill—a quite unnecessary proceeding. Sir John had only said in plain language what many men were vaguely thinking, and for the nonce he became a sort of hero. In the House of Commons, however, where the amenities of language were held in some regard, the speech was differently received, and the speaker was called on to recant it. Fearing expulsion he complied, and the speech was ordered by the House to be burned by the common hangman.[1]

The enemies of alien immigration had no lack of arguments to urge; or rather they lived in a world of unsubstantial fears and imaginary terrors. It was confidently asserted that the presence of the alien would be dangerous in time of war, and would be made an excuse for a standing army; that professed enemies of the Church would destroy it and endanger the national religion; that aliens would vote at elections, enter parliament and govern the country; that by intermarriage they would blot out the English race; that they would become serious rivals

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. pp. 850–857: Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, vol. i. p. 300.

with the native inhabitants in trade; that, if successful, they would return home and take their money with them; that, if not, they would as paupers become a burden on the country; that by means of their connexions abroad they would monopolise foreign trade, and promote the import of foreign manufactures; and lastly that they would defeat the purposes of the Navigation Act. That in the reign of William these national prejudices should have been unusually excited was under the circumstances natural, and of all the Tory forces at that time in operation they were the most effective. The conservative instinct of society to resist disintegrating—or what it believed to be disintegrating—influences from without expressed itself in patriotic outbursts, which, though sometimes foolish, were perfectly sincere. And upon the whole it must be said that on this question the Tories were a more thoroughly national party than the Whigs. A few illustrations will be enough to elucidate this interesting episode in the history of party.

When so old and well-tried a Tory as Carmarthen was denounced as being anti-English and a 'Williamite' and was hooted by the mob, it is clear that the government of William must have profoundly wounded national sentiment. There was in the first place the army. That in itself was exceedingly unpopular; but an army to a large extent manned and officered by foreigners amounted to an intolerable insult. When Englishmen listened to the tramp of Dutch troops on English soil, they flushed with indignation. 'There was one thing,' says a contemporary writer, 'which much affrighted all true Englishmen, because it is believed it never happened since William the Conqueror's time, which was, that a King and Queen of England should make their procession at the Coronation through a treble rank of armed horse and foot all foreigners.' Burnet, indeed, tells us that the Dutch soldiers behaved themselves so well that everybody wished 'that as long as we had a standing army it might consist chiefly of the Dutch.' He allows that 'the posting the Dutch Guards where the English Guards had been gave a general disgust to the whole British army,' which was unquestionably true. But in saying that the English troops hated the Dutch for their superior discipline and order—'which made them to be as much beloved by the nation, as they were hated

by the soldiery'—he was certainly in error.[1] The English felt no warmth of affection for the Dutch; at the most they showed only a frigid toleration. It was in vain that Somers argued that William showed no distrust of the English; that in employing foreign troops he was acting only according to the universal practice; and that the enlistment of foreigners served in fact to make the army all the stronger, because their presence excited a healthy competition. But against stubborn prejudice ingenious dialectics strive in vain. It was actually asserted, for example, that 'a great party of the military force of this kingdom is in the hands of foreigners.' As early as 1692 the House of Lords addressed the King and tendered the advice that the general commanding English troops, and serving directly under the King, should be a native; that English officers should, in the confederate army, command officers of equal rank, crowned heads excepted; that twenty thousand English troops should remain in England under native command; and that no seat at the Board of Ordnance be given to a foreigner. The House of Commons in their address asked for native Englishmen to be appointed to fill all vacancies in the rank of general officers. It is true, indeed, that some speakers had the boldness to suggest that through want of opportunity there were no native Englishmen who were equal to the task of directing a campaign. 'In relation to foreign officers,' declared Sir Edward Seymour, 'that fell not out by chance, it was necessity not chance. Men are not born generals. A man may be a good officer, and not a good general.'[2] But in the prevailing temper of the nation such a plea did not avail. The Dutch commander Solmes was censured by the House of Commons; and when Keppel—who had been created Earl of Albemarle—received the command of the first troop of Life Guards, the Duke of Ormonde, to mark his disgust, tendered his resignation of the command of the second. William's obstinate refusal to part with his Dutchmen not only aggravated the sense of sorely-wounded pride; it also produced a haunting dread. 'Strangers,' it was murmured, 'are the nest-eggs of foreign invasion.' He was reminded of his promise to send back the Dutch troops as soon as he had effected

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 359; vol. iv. p. 182.

[2] Grey's *Debates*, vol. x., p. 29.

a deliverance of the country—a promise unfulfilled. In 1698 the discontent of the nation reached a culminating point. The newly-elected House of Commons, taking the Treaty of Ryswick for a pretext, insisted that the Dutch Guards should be disbanded, and ordered the reduction of the army to seven thousand men, all of whom should be Englishmen, excluding even the Irish and the Scots. This miniature force was called an army of officers, because the private soldiers were so few. For Ireland twelve thousand men were voted, but no Frenchmen or Dutchmen were to be permitted to enlist. The King, as he well might be, was excessively annoyed, and bitterly remarked that parliament had done what the French had tried for eight years to do in vain. It is particularly noteworthy that all this energetic action followed hard upon a Tory victory at the polls.

The presence of foreigners in the army was, however, not the only grievance which affronted the English patriotic pride. The honours and emoluments showered by William on his favourite counsellors and commanders were scarcely less unpopular. The grants of land to aliens touched the national sensibility to the quick. That of a great estate in Wales to Portland, in particular, excited the liveliest opposition, and may be taken as typical of the rest. In the House of Commons the attack was led by a Welshman, Robert Price. 'We see,' he bitterly exclaimed, 'most places of power and profit given to foreigners. We see our confederates in conjunction with the Scots to ruin English trade. . . . We are to be supported by our neighbours, and become a colony to the Dutch.' [1] Again, over the question of the disposal of the Irish landed estates the House came into direct conflict with the King. Nor was this all. The mere fact that William sought his confidential advisers among Dutchmen and made them members of his Council let loose an angry swarm of jealousies and suspicions. If, says one writer, 'the voice of the people . . . speaks truth, Dutch counsels and Dutch measures of acting are the true source of all these mischiefs.' [2] Dutch bishops, it was said, would soon be seen upon the bench, as well as Dutch officers in the army. So strong was the feeling of the country on the subject that the House of

[1] Townsend's *History of the House of Commons*, vol. i. pp. 437–446.

[2] Somers *Tracts*, vol. iii. : 'The People of England's Grievances.'

Commons resolved to request the King to admit 'no person who was not a native of his own dominions,' except Prince George of Denmark, to his councils in England or in Ireland.[1] The Act of Settlement, which was passed the following year, not only embodied this restricting resolution, but contained a clause that forbade the sovereign to go out of his dominions without parliamentary consent. To such an extent had the fear of foreign influences affected the minds of serious statesmen. Towards the close of William's reign it became the exciting cause of what may, without extravagance, be described as an event in the history of English literature. It so happened that a certain John Tutchin, a pragmatical journalist, whose restless disposition on more than one occasion brought him into serious trouble, was inspired to give expression to the anti-alien feeling which was then rampant in the country. His poem, *The Foreigners*, a violent attack upon King William and the Dutch, did not escape the penetrating vigilance of Defoe. 'A vile abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse,' it filled him, he declared, 'with a kind of rage against the book.' All aglow with indignation, he flung his swiftly-springing thoughts into a memorable poem. In an explanatory preface to his *The True-born Englishman* he remarked that the town was 'full of lampoons and invectives against Dutchmen, only because they are foreigners; and the King reproached and insulted by insolent pedants and ballad-making poets.' But, he continued, 'we are really all foreigners ourselves'; and, besides, their coming ought not to be discouraged, because 'the multitude of foreign nations who have taken sanctuary here have been the greatest additions to the wealth and strength of the nation; the essential whereof is in the number of its inhabitants.' It is owing, he declared, to their exclusive attitude of mind that the English are reproached as 'a nation that wants manners,' and are regarded by strangers as 'the churliest people alive.' What is the precise amount of truth in these words of the famous Whig pamphleteer it would be idle to inquire and perhaps impossible to discover. But what is of interest to note is his clear perception of the fact that anti-alien prejudice was running to excess; that antipathy to denationalising influences—in itself a healthy instinct—was

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. v. p. 1221.

by taking grotesquely exaggerated forms, injuriously affecting the true interests of the nation. In warding off this danger no one did so much useful work as Defoe in this celebrated poem. The Englishman's supercilious attitude of mind towards the foreigner he helped to make to appear ridiculous and to become an unfashionable trait.

That the Tories took the lead in the anti-alien manifestations of feeling which were a characteristic feature of the reign of William III. seems very clear. What then, it may be asked, was the position they took up with regard to that other great question which at the same time so much agitated the public mind? We mean that of the standing army. For, as we have seen, the two questions lie in close proximity to one another. The type of mind which is markedly averse from foreign influences, and is especially solicitous for national independence, is also very likely to insist upon the maintenance of a military force. Having these ends in view, a man of this temperament will cast about to find the means. If he cannot hinder the silent penetration of invisible forces, open invasion and assault he will at least endeavour to repel. He will not merely tolerate, but will insist on the provision for the necessary weapons of defence. That the Tories, as the special guardians of national consolidation and integrity, should be foremost in solicitude for the maintenance of a military force is what might have been expected. How far this was the case, or rather how far the Tories as a party shared the general prejudice against a standing army, is a matter that challenges inquiry. That the English nation as a whole distinctly showed their disapproval of the attempts of Charles II. and his successor to create a standing army we have already seen. It was exhibited, too, quite as strongly by the Tories, or perhaps more so than by the Whigs. And that for two reasons. The Tories had some bitter memories; the iron tread of Cromwell's troops still sounded in their ears, and they looked back with affection to the old national force of the Militia. With a true conservative instinct they cast longing looks behind on an ancient institution. Nor in this sentiment on their part is there any essential inconsistency. The philosophical generalisation that a conservative party has an affinity with a militant state of society, and that

a progressive party stands in similar relations to an industrial one, at least approximately represents the facts. Nor does the action of the Tories in steadily resisting the creation of a standing army invalidate its truth. For to what has been styled the militant state of society they never in principle objected. A national army, in the shape of the Militia, was an institution which they would have heartily supported; but a professional army, standing aloof from the life of the community, in the service of the government to do its bidding—that was quite a different thing. The author of a pamphlet written in 1675 exactly describes their point of view. 'The Militia,' he writes, 'must and can never be otherwise than for English liberty, because else it does destroy itself; but a standing force can be for nothing but Prerogative, by whom it hath idle living and subsistence.'[1] Howe's emphatic declaration in the House of Commons that he believed 'the black coats and the red coats to be the grievances of the nation, was characteristic of this very breezy speaker, but it doubtless represented a good deal of popular opinion. The Tories, in short, were no more prepared than the Whigs to trust the governing body with a potential instrument of terror and oppression: they were not willing to run the risk of being dragooned. There is perhaps no more striking illustration of the real character of the English form of government at this time than the indisputable fact that a standing army, even existing with parliamentary consent, was profoundly repugnant to the nation. It shows that as yet self-government was rather an aspiration than a fact, and that a gulf still yawned between the governors and the governed. A self-ruling nation will not so distrust itself as to decline the necessary weapons of defence. The temper of the nation was displayed at the very beginning of the reign when the House of Commons resolved to except from the Bill of Indemnity those who had advised the raising and the keeping of an army in time of peace without parliamentary consent. But the first Mutiny Act in 1689 was in fact an indication of a great change that was impending. That the Revolution with its consequential foreign policy involved a standing army was

[1] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv., Appendix: 'A Letter from a Parliament-man to his Friend.'

perhaps not recognised at the time; and, indeed, it would not be too much to say that during the whole of William's reign the obvious fact was only reluctantly admitted. As a statesman with a great foreign policy, which could only be carried out by force of arms, he never won the cordial sympathy of the nation. To use the words of Halifax, a prince used to war 'getteth a military logic that is not well suited to the civil administration.'[1] But though the great majority of the nation, except the Jacobite or irreconcilable section of the Tories, approved his policy as a whole, with a curious inconsistency they grudged him the necessary means. The Tories, in particular, who, to use the modern phrase, held 'the blue water' doctrine of national defence, and maintained that British wars should as far as possible be fought out upon the sea, and not upon the land, were resentful at the manner in which the King lavished his attention on the army. Of their navy, indeed, the English had never shown the same distrust; nay, rather they were proud of it and its achievements. They perceived the truth of Bacon's saying that 'to be master of the sea is an abridgment of Empire,' and that sea-power is 'one of the principal dowries of this Kingdome of Great Britaine.'[2] If the English people were not what Thucydides in a memorable phrase said that the Athenians were in his time, namely, a maritime multitude,[3] their hearts were set upon their navy. But in William's reign the navy did not receive the same attention as the army. Already in 1692 Admiral Russell was complaining not only of a shortage of seamen, but also of their quality—'not the tenth man a seaman,' he angrily protested.[4] And three years afterwards Sir J. Rooke wrote to Shrewsbury and told him of his fears of going to sea with 'the miserable mob the generality of our men are'—a state of things which 'may be very fatal to us.' Nevertheless, the Whigs supported William in his efforts to concentrate attention on the army; and when in 1693 the Tories wished to appropriate the sum of two million pounds, to be secured upon the land tax, for the fleet, the

[1] *Character of a Trimmer.*

[2] Essay, 'Of the True Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates.'

[3] Thucydides, viii. 72, where he calls the Athenians ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος.

[4] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv. part vi. pp. 9, 218.

Government would assent only to the appropriation of one million for the purpose.

Over naval and military questions the two great political parties were, it is evident, not perfectly agreed. For while both wished for English supremacy at sea, and while both were profoundly distrustful of an army, they differed on the mode in which the war against France should be conducted. The Whigs wished to see it fought out upon the Continent, and were therefore, though reluctantly, prepared to raise an army for the purpose. Still, the army, in which, if we may believe Edmund Verney, 'the overflowing scum' was enlisted, was decidedly unpopular.[1] A contempt was felt for men who, as Sir William Petty put it, were ready 'to venture their lives for sixpence a day.'[2] And certainly the rank and file were, to say the least, not drawn from the most respectable classes of society. That the treatment of the men was no better than their character may be gathered from the fact that in 1692 a Bill contained a clause providing that a soldier should not be liable to punishment for desertion who could prove that his payment was in arrear for forty days. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that those who could advance some irrefragable arguments for establishing an army found their way blocked by prejudices which it was not difficult to justify. But as time went on and the question grew more urgent, the more vigorously the matter was discussed. The climax was reached in 1697, when, in addition to the parliamentary debates, there ensued a war of pamphlets. It was from the Whig ranks for the most part that the most redoubtable champions of the cause of the army advanced into the arena. Defoe was one of these, but it was the Lord Keeper Somers who, in his so-called *Balancing Letter*, advanced the most convincing arguments. His suggestion that the terms 'land force' or 'temporary army' should be used instead of standing army was doubtless intended to conciliate the nation. This, said the Reverend Samuel Johnson, who wrote a pamphlet in reply, reminded him of the Lollard device for keeping Lent by dipping a pig in water and calling it a fish. It is unquestionable, however, that the *Balancing*

[1] *The Verney Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 238.

[2] *Later Stuart Tracts*, 'Sir W. Petty's Political Arithmetic.'

Letter with its inexorable logic marked a turning point in the history of this much-agitated subject. The superiority of a professional army to a poorly trained Militia was in fact beginning to be recognised. However, while men argued, the necessity of an army was proved by the stern logic of events. War admits of no delay. Gradually the opposition waned, and the Tories at length acquiesced in a system towards which they had shown the strongest prejudice. It was by a curious inversion that what was fundamentally the military party should have offered the more stubborn resistance to the creation of a real military force.

Of the natural affinity between conservatism and the ownership of land something in a previous chapter has been said. Landed property is, so to speak, symbolic of stability and permanence; the landed man is in a special sense bound up with and interested in maintaining the fabric of society. And this was more true than it is to-day of the time of which we write, when the land was not only thought to be, but actually was, the great source of national wealth. The squirearchy formed an opulent and leisured class, which, well contented with its lot, and looking on the world with a cheerful acquiescence, had the strongest temptation to be rigidly conservative. It was the class, therefore, from which the Tories were principally drawn. The reign of William, however, witnessed the beginning of a new order of affairs. Men had by this time awoke to the discovery that the possession of land was not the sole avenue to wealth; nay, rather on the contrary, that traders could make fortunes of which the squires in their most optimistic moments never dreamed. The portentous figure of the plutocrat suddenly swam into their ken. Now it was that there appeared that dualism of society which was spoken of as the 'moneyed' and the 'landed' interests respectively. Not that the distinction was any more than superficial. Nevertheless, the rise of the commercial class, the great fortunes made in business, were phenomena which were no less new than striking, and could not fail to have a great effect upon society. Of all the great events of William's reign there was none perhaps more remarkable, none which made a deeper impression upon contemporary observers, than the appearance of a new class of 'moneyed'

men, who seemed, as it were, to come into competition with the old-established country gentry. The relations between the two, the traditional Tories on the one hand, and this new and powerful class of Whigs upon the other, constitute one of the most important episodes in the history of party: for at this time there came clearly into view those changed conditions which have gradually transformed rural England into the industrial England of to-day. How the Tories faced the altered circumstances, in what spirit they met their new competitors, and with what results to the fortunes of their party are the questions which now fall to be considered.

The political convulsions of a State are less injurious to its material prosperity than might on a superficial view appear. While politicians wrangle, party passions rage, and great events are happening, the life of commerce does not cease. In the pursuit of gain and means of livelihood men's attention never flags. The agitations of politics are but upon the surface, and underneath the stream of business continues to flow on. There may, indeed, be impedimenta and checks, prosperity may ebb and flow, but, speaking broadly, the course of trade is indestructible. Of this truth the history of England during the seventeenth century affords an illustration. Putting aside the consideration of the time before the Restoration, there appears to be no doubt that during the period between that event and the year 1688 England, in spite of political troubles not a few, enjoyed a large measure of prosperity.

The splendid style in which the merchant princes lived in their city mansions was visible evidence of the fact. Complaints of commercial depression, indeed, were occasionally heard; but there was never yet a time when there was no one found to grumble. The rulers of England, though there might be no limits to their political ineptitude, had a keen eye for the advantages of trade. There were royal purses and national treasuries which had to be constantly refilled, and that was a necessity which had a wonderfully sharpening effect upon the wits. Even so stubborn a Tory as the Duke of Newcastle on this point at least descended to the level of vulgar common sense. Though nursing a contempt for trade and a fear of traders in his heart, he advised his youthful pupil, Charles II., to protect his subjects,

and especially the citizens of London, in their gainful occupations. The King, he said, should encourage over-sea trade, and the development of shipping; for ships are 'the brazen walls of England' and 'the only walls that defend an island.' To tell him this was, he admitted, as ridiculous as it would be for the master of 'a petty school to teach Aristotle'; and certainly Charles in this matter was not in need of much instruction.[1] With all their faults, both Charles and his brother had a share of business instinct, and took a laudable interest in the nation's mercantile marine. It is not too much to say that during their *régime* the commercial interests of the country were perceptibly advanced. In 1670 a Council of Trade and Plantations was established, with Shaftesbury for its president. It was not a day too soon, for one of the very first matters that came up for discussion at the Council was the state of affairs in the New England colonies, which, says Evelyn, were 'so rich and strong' that they were 'on the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown.'[2] The Council of Trade possessed the inestimable advantage of having for its secretary no less a man than Locke. Though this lineal ancestor of the modern Board of Trade and the Colonial Office did not take its place among the enduring institutions of the country, there nevertheless was a steady progress made in the birth of new ideas and in their practical development.

The uprising of the 'moneyed' men, therefore, though they did not loom large above the horizon until the reign of William III., undoubtedly began during the prosperous years before the Revolution. Whether that event and the train of consequences that followed in its wake enhanced, at any rate immediately, the wealth of the country may very well be doubted. It was not long, indeed, before people were actually comparing the present leanness with the fat times which were gone. By the year 1688 the decay of trade seems to have been taken for granted as a fact, and its causes were gravely examined in the works of pamphleteers. The time, indeed, it should not be forgotten, was one of almost ceaseless war; and that is a fact which accounts for some apparent inconsistency. For war, though it may diminish the aggregate sum of national

[1] The Duke of Newcastle's *Treatise on Government.* [2] Evelyn's *Diary.*

wealth, may, and often does, in particular directions throw open fresh avenues to riches. That is why the 'moneyed' men attained in William's reign a position of pre-eminence such as they had never reached before. To an already existing tendency an entirely new group of circumstances added an accelerating speed. The pecuniary necessities of the State, its need to enlist the co-operation of the wealthy, the creation of new financial instruments, all contributed to enlarge the 'moneyed' class and to invest it with unprecedented influence and power.

In nothing perhaps did the state of English society at this period contrast more curiously with that of society to-day than in the manner in which politics and business were closely intertwined. If a man in those days engaged in mercantile pursuits, at any rate if he traded upon an ample scale, if his stocks of merchandise were great and his argosies were rich, there was a fair chance he was a Whig; if he invested his money in Government securities, or in Bank of England shares, above all if he was a stock-jobber, or made contracts with the State, the probability of such a man being a Whig almost reached the point of certainty. There was some approach to a kind of social and political dichotomy. For Toryism became almost identical with the landed and agricultural interests, and Whiggism with the interest of the traders; the latter being ardently attached to the Revolution settlement, the former either accepting it unwillingly or being Jacobite in sympathies. Yet town and country were never hopelessly divided. The frontier lines were blurred, the two sections insensibly blended into one another. No amount of Tory prejudice could prevent such a man as Sir Dudley North, for instance, from going into business and heaping up a fortune. The direction of the East India Company, again, was too lucrative a thing to be given over to the Whigs upon merely sentimental grounds. In not a few instances the allurements of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice extinguished the natural repugnance of Tory younger sons to the counting-house and ledger. The squire, moreover, often sought the matrimonial alliance which, while it flattered the trader, was of great pecuniary advantage to himself. The Whigs, on their side, were just as much concerned as their

opponents in maintaining the ascendency of the land. There was scarcely a merchant who was not ambitious of buying an estate, of entering the charmed circle of the landed aristocracy, and of founding a county family, and often he succeeded. There were many cases of new men and old acres. From the city office the way lay open even to the hereditary legislative chamber. The merchants were therefore quite as eager to maintain the political domination of the land as any country magnate; for it was a domination in which he some day hoped to share. And the hope was frequently fulfilled; so frequently, indeed, that before the middle of the eighteenth century we find Defoe remarking upon 'the dignity and honour' which were allowed to trade in England, the trading families being 'mingled with the nobility and gentry so as not to be separated or distinguished.'[1] But that was a condition of society which could not be reached at once, and it was one which the old landed aristocracy regarded with an ill-concealed disdain.

The rise of the 'moneyed' class, which they regarded as inimical to their own privileges and position, was one of those irresistible movements in which the Tories were not prepared to acquiesce without a struggle. A contest ensued which forms a very interesting chapter in the history of Toryism during the Revolution period. William had no sooner ascended the throne than the controversy opened over the question of the East India Company. In this instance it was not as landed gentry, but as traders themselves, that the Tories advanced to do battle in defence of their privileged position. For, where there was an easy road to riches, the Tories were no less keen than their opponents, whom they affected to despise for their mean shifts and petty huckstering. So easily does pride of birth succumb to the allurements of self-interest. The East India Company, which had received its charter in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, possessed a monopoly so lucrative that it excited men's cupidity to an extraordinary pitch. The pageantry of the East, its gems, its spicery, its silks and embroideries, took the imagination captive. It is not to be wondered at that there sprung up in luxurious profusion a rank crop of jealousy and envy upon which it was easy for political prejudices

[1] *Complete English Tradesman.*

to play. Originally under Whig management, the Company came into collision with the Crown during the reign of Charles II., when two of its directors, Papillon and Barnardiston, supported the Exclusion Bill. But in taking this bold and disinterested course they perhaps did not anticipate the action of Sir Josiah Child, their colleague. This very able man was one of the earliest examples in the history of English commerce of the great financial operator—the prototype of the modern millionaire. Brought into the direction of the Company, as a Whig, he threw off his political allegiance when it suited him to do so. Striking a bargain with the King, to whom he offered a sum of ten thousand pounds annually, he succeeded in excluding the old Whig directors from the company, and controlled its affairs entirely in the Tory interest. He reaped his reward in the acquisition of great wealth, in a baronetcy, and a matrimonial alliance with one of the noblest houses in the land. On economic questions—a topic to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer—his views were enlightened and original; but he devoted without scruple his vast pecuniary resources and his rare talents to the aggrandisement of the great corporation of which he was the undisputed autocrat. He was able to buy off all opposition, and he did so.[1]

When, therefore, the Revolution happened, the East India Company, converted as it was into a powerful Tory institution, was immediately confronted with an active and dangerous opposition. It had raised a host of enemies by its successes, and its methods. A violent party conflict arose over the question of the renewal of its charter. The Tories defended the granting of its privileges as a prerogative of the Crown, while the Whigs, for that very reason, supported the cause of open and unrestricted trading. Meanwhile, the so-called 'Interlopers' formed an unauthorised company, and in spite of all objections shipped cargoes to and from the East. The commercial world was greatly agitated by a competition of an unprecedented kind between the old Tory company and the Whig upstart which styled itself the New. Never perhaps was a business controversy carried on upon such distinctly party lines. On one side were

[1] Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Introductory Discourse; *The Correspondence of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester*, edited by S. W. Singer.

the Tory champions of prerogative, and on the other the Whig supporters of parliamentary rights. Bribes without stint, and a venal ministry, for a time at least, placed the old Company in an impregnable position. Their charter was renewed, but this time upon conditions. For, quite apart from the jealousy of rival traders, it was undoubtedly the case that the operations of the Company had created grievances, which were not less keenly felt because they were for the most part unsubstantial. It was alleged that the Company diverted gold and silver bullion to the East; that it employed ships and seamen in distant voyages, which made them unavailable for home defence; and that it taught the Indian natives the art of manufacturing fabrics which were afterwards exported home to the great injury of British workmen. So it was made a condition of the charter that the Company should henceforth export annually British manufactured goods to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds at least. But the resolution of the House of Commons, which affirmed the right of all Englishmen, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament, to trade in the East or any part of the world, made the position of the Company exceedingly unstable. The 'Interlopers' still pursued their gainful occupation, and the Whigs never flagged in their assaults. It was not, however, until 1698 that their dogged persistency prevailed and the establishment of a New Company received parliamentary sanction. The fact that a large loan to the Government was made an essential condition of the scheme impressed the seal of Whiggism upon the new venture beyond any possibility of doubt. It was a political duel in which the Tories had to acknowledge a defeat.[1]

Even more important from a party point of view than the struggle over the Eastern trade was the foundation of the Bank of England and of the National Debt. These cold and passionless institutions seem as alien from the emotions as it is possible for anything to be. Yet both were forged in the heat of party passion. They were the creatures of the Whigs. It was a Whig minister, Montagu, who devised them, to raise the necessary funds to carry out a Whig policy; and it was the knowledge that a Jacobite triumph would spell repudiation

[1] Cunningham's *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, pp. 126 *seq.*

that bound the ' moneyed ' men to the Whigs in an indissoluble alliance. Besides, both expedients were naturally obnoxious to the Tories, for they smacked of Dutchmen and republics. The earliest banking institution was the Mint, where merchants used to place their money for safe keeping. When Charles I. shook their confidence in the Mint, they began to entrust their money to the goldsmiths, who in their turn made loans to the Government at a specified rate of interest and on the security of the taxes. It was not, however, until the Government of Charles II. broke faith with the goldsmiths that the need of a really sound banking system began to be acutely felt. The idea of a national bank had, so to say, long been in the air. After the Revolution the proposal was warmly taken up, and in 1694 the Bank of England, largely through the efforts of Montagu, the Whig financial minister, was actually established. That the work of a Whig ministry should meet with Tory opposition was, so to speak, a part of the common form of politics. But to say no more than this would be unjust to the Tories. That their opposition was based upon some genuine convictions it would be idle to deny. Their mental attitude, the arguments which appealed to their intellect and the ratiocination which satisfied their reason, are of considerable interest. For they reveal the inner working of the real Tory mind. Their objections were partly begotten of deeply-rooted prejudice. It was said that the Bank would be fatal to the monarchy, because it was in the republican soil of Amsterdam, of Venice, and of Genoa that banking institutions greatly flourished. There could have been few who seriously maintained the old medieval doctrine against lending money out at interest, but there must have been many who doubted whether the practice quite consisted with the conduct of a gentleman. At all events, it was alleged that the scheme was intended to enrich usurers at the expense of the nobility and gentry, because capitalists would be tempted to invest their money in the Bank rather than lend it out at moderate interest upon the security of land. The fear was one perhaps which the landed gentry might be excused for entertaining. In arguing that the power of the purse—the palladium of English liberties—might be transferred from the House of Commons to the directors of the Bank,

the Tories were indeed on firmer ground ; and here at least they had the concurrence of the Whigs. A condition was therefore introduced which prohibited the Bank from making advances to the Crown without parliamentary sanction. Nevertheless the Tories were not to be conciliated, for it seemed to them that the Bank, to use the language of the Earl of Nottingham, 'drew into its coffers all the circulation of the country, and made a kind of monopoly of the management of it.' Their opposition was not entirely factious, as Burnet would have us to believe. 'All the enemies of the Government,' he said, 'opposed it ; but the advantages of it caused the people to see the secret reasons why the enemies of the Government opposed it.'[1] The fact that the first governor of the Bank, Sir James Houblon, was of Flemish origin, and that Sir Thomas Abney, a leading Nonconformist, was one of the principal directors, did not tend to reassure the Tories.[2] They were alarmed at the growth of what they sincerely believed to be disintegrating influences ; they dreaded the predominance of the trading interest in the State. Insubordination to authority, republicanism, dissent—these were the dark brood which they imagined that industrialism hatched. So enthralling was the power of old association of ideas.

Scarcely less obnoxious to the Tories were the transactions which laid the basis of a permanent national debt. To begin with, it was a Whig device to raise the wind for Whig financial needs. Then it was said to be of Dutch parentage ; and Burnet, in particular, was roundly charged with introducing it.[3] There was no foundation for the charge ; but it was a plausible one to make, and it stuck to his memory like a burr. The nucleus of the debt was in fact the one million two hundred thousand pounds which Charles II. owed the bankers when he proclaimed the national bankruptcy by closing the Exchequer. The fact was that the institution of the Excise led naturally to the expedient of raising money upon the security of the revenue. It was an inevitable step in the financial development of the

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time,* vol. iv. p. 223.

[2] *The First Nine Years of the Bank of England,* by J. E. T. Rogers ; *The Houblon Family,* by Lady Alice Archer-Houblon.

[3] This allegation was made even by Cobbett—see his *Rural Rides.*

country. That was an aspect of the matter which the Tories did not see. What they did see was that the general and widespread participation in the Government loans served to strengthen the new political order, and that the stock was largely held by foreigners. It was the French refugees, indeed, who claimed the credit of inspiring confidence in the new loans and making them a popular investment. So numerous were the dealings that a novel form of occupation, that of the stock-jobber, at this time arose to meet the strange demand. For the fact was that though, as Defoe said, 'Money was a Low Churchman' and 'credit born of Whig parents,'[1] the moneyed men were as much in want of the Funds as the Funds were in want of them. Concurrently with the growth of national wealth the need arose of new channels for the safe disposition of accumulated capital. But all this was little noticed at the time. If there was one occupation more than another which the Tories loathed with all their hearts it was the calling of the stock-jobber. They detested him and all his ways—which, to say the truth, were not always very nice. Exchange Alley, in short, was not the home of all the virtues. Still, the stock-jobber was the victim of some prejudice and misconception. The Tories, if Bolingbroke may be taken to represent them truly, thought them 'the meanest grubs on earth.' 'The proprietor of the land,' he once wrote, with a retrospective glance, 'and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade had during two wars borne the whole immense load of the national expenses; whilst the lenders of the money, who added nothing to the common stock, throve by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.'[2] As a view of the stock-jobber, this was unjust, if not absurd. But it brings out very clearly the Tory attitude of mind; for while they had no liking for the traders as a whole, they reserved their special indignation for the small class of persons who rose to opulence by speculative dealings in the Funds. The term 'moneyed' was often applied to them in this restricted sense.

That the landed gentry relatively to the trading class were at this period losing ground is very clear. A social transforma-

[1] *Later Stuart Tracts*, preface to vol. vii. of Defoe's Review

[2] Sichel's *Bolingbroke and His Times*, p. 273.

tion was in progress, which steadily tended to depress Tory influence and power. But the Tories were not the kind of men to accept the new conditions with a dull acquiescence or with merely idle protests. They sought in two different ways to stem the rising tide of commercialism which threatened to submerge them. The first plan was to turn the House of Commons into an assembly of landed men. It was a bold design and had the merit of simplicity. Besides, it had some tradition in its favour. A group of ancient statutes imposed a residential qualification both upon candidates and electors, as though with the object of placing parliamentary representatives in special relations to particular localities. It was therefore not to be wondered at that the Tories should propose to have recourse to so obvious an expedient. For it was an easy calculation that an assembly of landowners would legislate in the interest of the land. So in 1696 a Bill was introduced that required every country member and every borough member to be possessed of real estate of the annual value of five hundred and two hundred pounds respectively. As might be expected, it was vigorously opposed by the Universities and the chief commercial centres. The merchants of course were up in arms; they declared that a set of ignorant country squires were totally unfit to deal with commercial legislation. Add to this that William reflected that he could not afford to offend the 'moneyed' interest, and it became obvious that the Bill had not the smallest chance of passing. In fact the Bill was vetoed. But the Tories were not to be discouraged; and later in the same year they returned to the assault. The second Bill proposed to pacify the traders by a provision that merchants of seven years' standing possessed of real or personal estate to the value of five thousand pounds should be allowed to sit for boroughs.[1] But this time the promoters of the Bill had to meet the opposition of the Lords, who controlled many boroughs and feared to lose their influence. So, to the chagrin of the Tories, the Bill was thrown out by the hereditary chamber. But though the action of the Lords was more liberal and enlightened, it can scarcely be claimed that it was free from the taint of self-interested motives.

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. ii. new series: The House of Lords Papers, p. xx.

At any rate the interest of the Peers coincided with the interest of the trader.

The second plan was more complex, but it was so plausible that opposition could not be so easily aroused. It was a bold plan too, because it meant nothing less than a rival institution to the Bank of England. One of the principal Tory objections to the Bank was that it would tend to divert capital which would otherwise have been lent upon the security of land. How to counteract this tendency was a problem which had a curious fascination for some fertile and ingenious minds. The first perhaps to devise and to publish any scheme was Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, a talented physician who had the misfortune to be possessed with the unshakable conviction that he was a heaven-sent economist. He had an infallible plan, he declared, for making 'England rich and happy.' This was an institution which he called a National Land Bank. As early as 1693 a Committee of the House of Commons inquired into the subject and they reported that the scheme was practically feasible. While, however, the topic was still in the region of discussion, two land banks were actually established, one planned by John Briscoe and another by Dr. Nicholas Barbon, who was not only a physician but was also a pioneer in establishing the business of insurance against fire. The amalgamation of the two banks was, however, but the prelude to their failure. The following year, in 1696, a National Land Bank was established by parliamentary sanction.

It was provided that a large Government loan should be raised by the subscribers of the Bank, the payment of the interest to be secured upon special salt and other taxes; that another large sum be advanced to landowners at a moderate interest; and that power should be given to issue inconvertible notes to an indefinite amount. Finally all persons who had an interest in the Bank of England were especially excluded from participating in the illusory advantages of this novel undertaking. It was generally supposed by its sponsors that it would engage the Tories in support of the Government—an anticipation which under favourable circumstances might perhaps have been fulfilled. But there was one all-important element which the Tories strangely overlooked, and that was that the only

persons who were in a position to subscribe were precisely the 'moneyed' men whom they were determined to exclude. The Whigs saw nothing in the scheme but a manœuvre of their political opponents, and they coldly held aloof; while the Tories discovered to their chagrin that without the co-operation of the trading class no business could be done. Their resistance—or at all events the resistance of the landed gentry who formed the backbone of the party—to the spirit of the age, in any case could scarcely have succeeded. The attempts to convert the House of Commons into a close corporation of squires, and to found a banking institution without the help of the capitalists were clearly doomed to failure. It must be allowed that the Tories displayed a fatuous incapacity to grapple with realities and to turn them to account.[1]

It is to the reign of William III. that the origin of modern commercial England may be first distinctly traced. The tendency towards the industrial state of society was doubtless in progress long before, though it was too feeble to be visible. Evolution is continuous, and its stages elude the limitations of chronology. Nevertheless it is unquestionable that it was during what we have styled the Revolution period that commercialism began to strike the minds of contemporary observers as a new social element and a fresh political force. The foundation of the Bank of England and of the National Debt were in no sense causes, but rather symptoms or effects. It might be anticipated, therefore, that a novel class of questions, in correspondence with the changed order of affairs, would begin to occupy the minds and engross the attention of the thinkers and writers of the day. Such topics as the divine right of kings, the patriarchal theory of the origin of society, the errors of Roman Catholicism, and the dangers of popery, were not, indeed, wholly thrown aside, but, relatively speaking, they occupied a smaller space and attracted less attention. Meanwhile topics of a more material cast and with more utilitarian ends began to enter the area of speculation and debate. The manner of their treatment by the Tories forms an interesting chapter in the history of the party.

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 308; Somers *Tracts*, vol. ii. Fourth Collection): 'The Settlement of the Land Bank'; Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. iii. p. 512; vol. iv. pp. 13, 51.

The question of the relationship of the State to trade forms but a fragment of the still larger problem of the sphere and duties of government in every department of activity. That upon so complex a subject as the functions of government the Tories should at this early period have held any well-defined views or propounded any principles it would be vain to expect. But though they put forward no system of political philosophy, their acts were determined by opinions which were more or less definite in character. If there was no logical reasoning, there was at any rate a sentiment, an impulse, or, at the lowest, an instinct. Is it possible, it therefore may be pertinently asked, to deduce from the practice of the Tories the views which they held upon the sphere of the activity of government ?

A belief in the necessity of a strong central government, possessing great powers and not afraid to use them, is, as we have seen, one of the principal notes of Toryism. National independence, permanency, resistance to disintegrating forces—these are the things of which the Tories may in a peculiar sense claim to be the guardians. That they would be disposed to lay stress upon the subordination of the individual to the State, and to look with favour upon a vigorous exercise of government authority, there would, therefore, be some reason to expect. Upon the question of the proper limits of government interference there is, and always has been, a sharp division of opinion. Speaking broadly, men, perhaps from difference of temperament, approach the question from opposite points of view. On the one hand there are those who would put severe limitations upon the action of the State. Such men are impressed with the importance of legislation, its failures to carry out its ends, its tendency to produce injurious consequences which were entirely unforeseen. They see the path of history encumbered with the derelicts of ineffective laws. They agree with Tacitus that much legislation is the mark of a corrupt state ; with Burke that bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny ; with Montesquieu that superfluous laws diminish the authority of those which necessity demands ; with Aristotle, that though there is only one way of going right there are many ways of going wrong. They incline to the belief that, in the words of a modern writer, the only ' safe course for the legislator is to look upon his craft as consisting in the adaptation

of contemporary contrivances to temporary emergencies'; that 'to maintain order, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and to adopt certain precautions respecting the public health, are the only services which any government can render to the interests of civilisation'; [1] and that though the legislator may palliate an evil for a moment, he can never work a cure. They attach a greater importance to individual character than to subordination to authority, and they applaud the sentiment expressed in the well-known lines which Dr. Johnson added to Goldsmith's *Traveller*:—

> How small of all that human hearts endure
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.

Above all they vindicate the freedom of the individual man; they abhor those social despotisms which choke originality; they join with Pericles in praising the democracy of Athens. 'We go each his own way,' he said of them, 'and do not scowl at other people for going theirs.' [2] Such are the views of one class of thinkers. On the other side are those whose ideal is that of the 'police state' of the Germans, and who believe that much can be effected by legislative action; who hold with Aristotle that the State is prior to the individual, just as the whole is prior to the part; who view society as a plastic and artificial product; who think, so to speak, more of the hive than of the bee, and attach more importance to social co-operation than to individual freedom. Is it, then, possible to assign the seventeenth century Tories to one class or the other? The answering of the question is beset with many difficulties. As the party of centripetal forces and subordination to authority, they would incline to view with patience no small amount of government control. On the other hand, as the party which had emerged less completely from the stage of theological opinion, as the party, that is to say, which by its mental constitution was disposed to seek for explanations of phenomena not in natural causes but in divine interpositions, they would be drawn perhaps to take a contrary view. They would, in a word, tend to account human action as an impertinent and futile interference with the omnipotence of God. And this is not all. For though religious consciousness may

[1] Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, ch. vii. [2] Thucydides, ii. 37.

arouse a man's indignation at the sight of suffering and wrong, it will be to the channel of divine grace and not to secular devices that such a consciousness will send him for a remedy. There are moreover considerations of another order which must be given their due weight. There is nothing in history perhaps which can be affirmed with less fear of contradiction than that it is only quite within a recent period that men have grown familiar with the notion of the rule of unalterable laws in social phenomena. While slowly reaching this idea they were the victims of an illusion that led them to confound impersonal forces with individual agency. From this illusion it was but a step to the belief that social phenomena are modifiable by human agency to an indefinite extent. So that while one set of considerations would lead the seventeenth-century Tories to take up a position which in an extreme form can scarcely be distinguished from fatalism, another set would incline them to hope much from legislative action. It is only, therefore, from concrete instances, and not from abstract considerations, that any safe deduction can be drawn. And when the facts are carefully explored, they can scarcely be said to lend much support to the position that the Tories were more prone than their opponents to invoke the coercive interference of the State. The Puritans certainly in matters of morals and religious observance did not hesitate to impose their own views by force of law ; for what they conceived to be righteous ends they set in motion the whole machinery of government. The legislative machine-roller of the Commonwealth crushed out individual opposition with terrible effect. Moreover, the belief in the power of legislation to effect reform over the whole domain of human affairs was at this time common to almost everyone. The Acts passed or Bills proposed dealing with every class of question —from the rate of interest to Greek and Latin Grammars—are too numerous to mention.

If there was one department more than another in which it was allowed by almost universal assent that the interference of the State could be properly and usefully invoked, it was that of trade. It would be scarcely too much to say that our legislators took all business for their province. To exclude and injure the foreigner, to encourage home industries, was, to put it briefly,

thought by them to be the very foundation of political philosophy and the last word of the wisdom of the statesman. Of the results of the great system of protection thus created it would be impossible to give a full description without irrelevant prolixity. For it was not a policy that the Tories accepted more fully than their political opponents or in any way appropriated to themselves. And where there exists such a wealth of illustrative matter it must suffice to call attention to those examples only which are especially significant.

The interference of the government in the course of trade was most easily effected either by the prohibition of the import of foreign manufactured goods, or of the export of raw materials which might be worked up abroad. Recourse was had to both expedients. The woollen trade, which was thought to be the most important, affords some of the most remarkable examples of this kind of government activity. Not only was the exportation of wool stringently prohibited, but also that of the sheep which carried the wool upon their backs. So rigorous was the law that the penalties for exporting wool were laid upon the inhabitants of the district from which it was shipped; and it is related that the principal inhabitants of New Romney, where the illicit trade was largely carried on, were forced to leave the place. A Statute of 1666 ordered that all corpses should be buried in woollen shrouds, in order to encourage the woollen manufacture. But even all this was not thought to be enough. A Bill was brought before Parliament in 1689 which, though it did not become law, is of considerable interest for the light it throws upon the trend of opinion. The Bill proposed to make it compulsory for all persons to wear woollen garments of English manufacture between October 15th and April 15th; for all the clergy, judges, magistrates and law-students to wear woollen gowns; for all owners of carriages to use woollen stuff with which to line the seats; and for the wives, widows and unmarried daughters of the lower classes to wear woollen caps. An exception, indeed, was made in the case of the garments of poor men, who were to be permitted to wear leather, fustian, or coarse linen. Cloaks of mohair lined with wool might also be allowed.[1]

[1] The Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report* xii. parts v. and vii.: The House of Lords Papers, p. 261–264; ditto, *Report* ix.: The House of Lords Papers, p. 109, 110, 124,

It is no wonder that the silk weavers, the straw-hat makers, and the London mercers petitioned against the Bill. After the wool trade that of the silk was the most important object of government solicitude. The Royal Lustring Company, for instance, was founded with the special object of fostering the domestic manufacture. The imports, however, of wrought silks by the East India Company gave rise to serious difficulties, which in 1696 brought about some extraordinary scenes. The Spitalfields weavers, with their wives and children, to the number of about five thousand, marched to Westminster to petition Parliament to prohibit the importation of wrought Oriental silks. The House of Lords, fearing a disturbance, sent for the Sheriffs and some Justices of the Peace. On their way back from Westminster the weavers attacked the offices of the East India Company. It was not long before a Bill was brought in to prohibit the offending imports; but on the rumour that the House of Lords had thrown it out, the weavers attacked the residence of the Deputy-Governor of the Company, and a riot ensued, in which several persons were killed or wounded. It is no wonder that this attempt to terrorise the Government caused profound consternation. But the weavers, who seem to have been appeased, only asked for themselves the privilege which others were enjoying, and they are scarcely to be blamed. The wearing of clothes of English-made stuffs seems to have been regarded almost as a patriotic duty, though one that was evidently more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In 1670 the two Houses of Parliament agreed to present an address to the King, says Andrew Marvell, 'that he weare no forain manufacture and discountenance whether man or woman at Court that shall wear them.'[1] Again, in 1675, the House of Commons voted an address to the King that he would use only silk of English manufacture, and it was in this year that arrangements were made for the mercers to wait upon his Majesty with patterns of home-made goods for his inspection. It does not appear that he acted upon this well-meant but rather impertinent advice.[2] Such, very briefly, were some of the results

[1] Marvell's *Works* (Grosart's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 385, 487.

[2] The Historial Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xii. parts vii. and viii.: The Papers of S. H. Le Fleming, p. 125.

of the protective policy which was at this time generally accepted as the embodiment of common sense. Yet the fact that it completely failed to check the very evils it was intended to avert seems to have excited few misgivings. The demon of foreign competition, surmounting all barriers, planted his feet on English soil, and cheap goods—'sweated' goods, to use the modern term—found their way in all the same. 'You encourage trade,' said Colonel Birch in the House of Commons, 'with heathens, who work for a penny a day and destroy Christians; and the French who scarce eat flesh four times a year, and wear linen breeches and wooden shoes, destroy your trade by underworking you.'[1] But worst of all, the system entirely failed to bring about what, according to the economic theories of the time, was thought to be a favourable trade balance. For in spite of all devices foreign imports except the precious metals —which were ardently desired and of which enough could never be obtained—persistently flowed into the country. The matter was thought to be so serious that in the reign of Charles II. the whole question was referred to a committee of London merchants to consider. Their finding that the value of French imports into England exceeded that of English exports into France by the amount of one million pounds annually, produced the profoundest consternation; and the Common Council of the City solemnly petitioned the King to protect trade from 'the depredations of the French.' Nor was the system of any more avail to ward off the competition of the Dutch in foreign markets. It was in reference to the Dutch that a writer of a letter to Danby, in 1667, observed that England might suffer in peace as well as war, 'though more insensibly, yet as certainly as by an invasion.'[2] That the Tories should have said—they can scarcely have believed it—that William and his Dutch counsellors had formed a scheme to ruin English trade and engross it in Dutch hands was perhaps no more than a move in the party game. Whether these manifest failures of the protective system to achieve its object affected the minds of economic thinkers it is impossible to say, but there can be no question that it was during the

[1] Grey's *Debates*, vol. v. p. 158.

[2] The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* xiv. part ix.: The Papers of the Earl of Lindsey, p. 369.

second half of the seventeenth century that the theory of Free Trade was first distinctly enunciated in the works of English writers. It was very gradually that it dawned upon men's minds that State interference, with its troublesome restrictions, might after all turn out to be an impediment to trade. The advance was made only with feeble and intermittent steps. Meanwhile the theorisers, those who devoted their minds to speculations upon the philosophy of trade, were thinking to some purpose. The views they put forward were suggestive and original. In 1664 was published Thomas Mun's *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*—a treatise that ran distinctly counter to the opinions then in vogue. But the first advocates, upon logical and reasoned principles, of commercial freedom were not only Tories but Tories of a militant and fervid type. That the earliest Free Trade economists should have been two such men as Sir Josiah Child and Sir Dudley North is one of the ironies of history, and is a thing well worth consideration. From what has been previously said, the reader will be to some extent familiar with their careers and their practical activities and their actions. What is of more interest is their economic theories. It was in 1668 that Sir Josiah Child, under the pseudonym of Φιλόπατρις, published his *New Discourse on Trade*, and in 1690 that he republished it in a new and enlarged edition. His admirable statement of Free Trade principles differed widely from his practice, which had but a single end in view: that is to say, the profits of the East India Company and his own personal self-aggrandisement. Sir Dudley North, though a reactionary politician, was a very lucid thinker, and where he could soar above the sordid ends of party, he was much in advance of the age in which he lived. It was in 1691 that he gave to the world his *Discourses upon Trade*. In saying that Sir Dudley had a 'speculative, extended idea,' and a faculty of expression that was clear and convincing, his brother Roger praised him no more than he deserved. What better statement, for instance, could there be of the elemental principles of Free Trade than the following wise and pregnant observations? 'A nation in the world, as to trade, is in all respects like a city in a kingdom, or a family in a city. . . . Laws to hamper trade, whether foreign or domestic, relating to money or other

merchandise are not the means to make a people rich and abounding in money and stock. . . . The whole world, as to trade, is but one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons . . . there can be no trade unprofitable to the public, for if any prove so, men leave it off, and wherever the traders thrive, the people of which they are a part thrive also.' It is painful to reflect that so bold a thinker should have played in public life the part of a pliant, subservient and time-serving politician. He hurriedly withdrew the book from circulation and in a very short time a copy could scarcely be procured. 'It was utterly sunk and a copy not to be had for money,' says his brother, who adds that 'if it was designedly done, it was very prudent.'[1] The only explanation that has ever been forthcoming is that the rejection by the Government of his proposals for the reformation of the coinage had seriously alarmed him. He was not the kind of man to let his economic speculations stand in the way of his advancement, or to undergo a martyrdom for truth. The fact is that Sir Josiah Child and Sir Dudley North were not purely animated by an abstract love of truth. It is here that the explanation is to be found of what at first sight appears to be a paradox—namely that the pioneers of Free Trade were to be found among the Tories and not among the Whigs, with perhaps the exception of Defoe.[2] The self-interest of Child and North coincided opportunely with the conclusions of their reasoning. It was, indeed, not so much because of their abstract views of foreign trade, as because of their sympathies with France that the Tories as a whole were moved to look with favour on a free commercial intercourse. For at this time the foreign trade of England was in the main a trade with France; and while Toryism connoted a French alliance and freedom of exchange, Whiggism implied detestation of that alliance and impediments upon the imports of French goods. It would be premature at this point to pursue the consideration of the subject any further. It needs only to be added that the Methuen Treaty with Portugal entered into in 1703 was intended by its authors to divert trade from its natural course with France. The way in which trade interests were made subservient, or even sacrificed, to faction is one of the most noteworthy things in the history of English parties.

[1] North's *Life of Sir Dudley North.*

[2] *The Tory Origin of Free Trade,* by W. J. Ashley.

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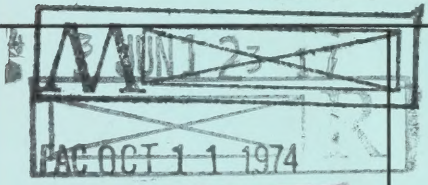

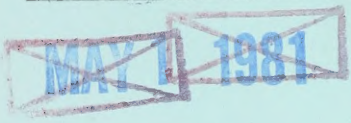

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